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BELL'S ENGLISH CLASSICS

JOHNSON'S
LIFE OF ADDISON

F. RYLAND

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JOHNSON'S LIFE OF ADDISON.

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF ADDISON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

I. LIFE OF JOHNSON.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield on September 18th, 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, was a bookseller; at one time a well-to-do magistrate of the city, Mr. Johnson before his death fell into distressed circumstances. He was a high churchman and a Tory, with Jacobite leanings.

The child's physical organization was undermined by scrofula, the king's evil as it was then called, which afterwards scarred and distorted his features and left him a prey to extreme mental depression and other symptoms of nervous disease. As he grew older he was afflicted with convulsive movements, and he lost the sight of one eye. About his fifth year—he could not have been six—he was brought to London to be touched for the evil by Queen Anne. He was sent to Lichfield Grammar School, then under a very severe master, Mr. Hunter, one of the Cathedral clergy. He afterwards went to Stourbridge Grammar School (in Worcestershire), where he remained a year; but his school days were over at the age of sixteen. A couple of years at home were spent in desultory reading, "not voyages and travels," (he told Boswell) "but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly; though but little Greek . . . so that when I came to Oxford, Dr. Adams, now Master of

Pembroke College, told me I was the best qualified for the University that he had ever known come there.”¹

He went up to Oxford (Pembroke College), in the October of 1728, and he remained there, according to Boswell, until the autumn of 1731, although Croker and other recent authorities² believe that he left the University after only fourteen months' residence, in December, 1729. Who supplied the necessary funds for his University course is still an unsolved question; it could hardly have been his father, who was very badly off, and who died in an insolvent condition in 1731. However long he remained at the University, Johnson took no degree. He seems to have been a somewhat troublesome undergraduate; as a rough and self-reliant lad with the learning of a don might easily become. But he fell under the influence of that half-forgotten High Church revival which preceded the great Evangelical movement of the Wesleys; and religion became a great reality for him after he had read William Law's "Serious Call to a Holy Life."

After his departure from Oxford and the death of his father, Johnson passed a year of struggle, apparently without definite occupation except during the few months he spent as usher in the Grammar School of Market Bosworth, months of "complicated misery" which he recalled with "even a degree of horror."³ In 1733 he went to stay for six months with his old school-fellow Hector, now a surgeon at Birmingham. Here he was thrown into the company of the chief bookseller of the town; and this circumstance seems to have led him to take up literary work. He settled in Birmingham, and in the next year or two wrote contributions for a sort of local "Spectator," besides translating and abridging Father Lobo's "Voyage to Abyssinia" from a French translation. In 1735 he married Mrs. Porter,

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 30.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 405-409.

³ Boswell, Bohn, i. 50.

the widow of a Birmingham tradesman. The bride was forty-eight, the bridegroom not quite twenty-six. But Johnson declared long afterwards¹ that it "was a love marriage on both sides," and the married life of the strangely assorted pair seems to have been very happy. "Tetty" had a fortune of about £800, and on this pecuniary basis Johnson set up a school at Edial, near Lichfield. He had only a few pupils (Boswell says, three) one of whom was David Garrick. The school was soon seen to be a failure, and in the spring of 1737 Johnson and Garrick came to London to seek their fortunes.

Johnson brought with him part of a tragedy, "Irene," which it was his first business to finish. But the play did not see the light till 1749.

Several years' experience as a hack-writer, a doer of literary odd jobs, lay before Johnson. At that date journalism was not a lucrative profession, if, indeed, such a profession can be said to have existed at all. Although Johnson soon got work on Cave's "Gentleman's Magazine," one of the best of the monthly periodicals, he must have had a hard and anxious time for a year or so. However, Boswell thinks that in 1738 he was already earning "a tolerable livelihood."² In 1738 his wife joined him in London, and in 1738 too came honour as well as guineas. On the same morning as Pope's "Epilogue to the Satires" appeared Johnson's "London," an imitation of Juvenal's third satire. The work of the new writer was not eclipsed by that of the most illustrious literary man of the age, and in a week a new edition of Johnson's poem was called for. A life of Father Paul Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, was his first important contribution to the "Gentleman's Magazine," and afterwards (1739-43) he wrote for it short biographies of Drake, Blake,

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 60.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 78.

Sydenham, and others, literary criticism and miscellaneous essays, and reported the debates in Parliament, or rather worked them up from such rough notes as could be furnished by persons paid to attend. In 1744 he produced a life of Richard Savage, a Bohemian literary man who had been his friend, and who had died the year before. This biography was afterwards embodied in the "Lives of the Poets."

In 1747 Johnson issued his "Plan for a Dictionary of the English Language," addressed to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield. The great dictionary, which was published by a group of booksellers, what would now-a-days be called a syndicate of publishers, occupied most of his time for the next seven years. He got little or no help from Chesterfield, and as he had to employ six clerks the expenses were considerable. Most of the 1,500 guineas which the booksellers had contracted to pay him were received on account before the work appeared.

"The Vanity of Human Wishes," an imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire, appeared in the January of 1749, and in February "Irene" was at length produced on the stage of Drury Lane by Garrick, who had deserted the law, for which he was intended, and had become the greatest actor and theatrical manager of the day. The tragedy was not a success, but thanks to the kindly zeal of Garrick, it ran for nine nights, and Johnson's share of the receipts, together with the payment for press rights, amounted to very nearly £300. From March, 1750, to March, 1752, he issued twice a week a periodical essay called the "Rambler;" there existed many such imitations *longo intervallo* of the "Spectator," some grave and some gay, and Johnson's was the most serious of all. His wife, much loved and long lamented, died on the day on which the last "Rambler" appeared. Although not very popular during its serial publication, it proved a great success when collected in

volumes, and on it was founded Johnson's reputation as a moralist.

In 1755 the Dictionary at last saw the light, in two great folio volumes. Since that day, philology has become scientific, and the crude etymologies of Johnson provoke the mirth of modern scholars. But his Dictionary is an enormous advance on its incomplete and unsatisfactory predecessors. Just before it appeared, when he began "to see land after having wandered in this vast sea of words,"¹ the University of Oxford granted him an M.A. degree, and he was now recognized as at the head of the literary world of London. He continued to write for the magazines, and to one of them, the weekly "Universal Chronicle," contributed during 1758-1760 the series of essays known as the "Idler." His gloomy oriental story "Rasselas" was written "in the evenings of a single week," in the early spring of 1759, in order "to defray the expense of his mother's funeral and pay some little debts which she had left."² Besides these and miscellaneous reviews and essays, he wrote prefaces to books, dedications, addresses, and speeches.

In 1762 he received a pension of £300 a year from the crown in recognition of his literary labours; and now at last at the age of fifty-three he was put beyond the need of daily toil for his daily bread. Henceforth he wrote comparatively little.

Although he wrote little he talked much; and he became the centre of a brilliant group of eminent men who honoured him and loved his society. The famous Literary Club was founded by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Johnson in 1764, and originally consisted of twelve members, among whom were Burke, Goldsmith, Topham Beauclerk (a dissipated man of fashion), Bennet Langton (a gentleman and a

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 216.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 269.

scholar with "a mind as exalted as his stature"), and Sir John Hawkins, the author of a "History of Music." The numbers were afterwards increased several times; but in 1780 the maximum was fixed at forty. Boswell, Garrick, Gibbon, Sheridan, Percy, Adam Smith, Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell), Sir William Jones, and the Wartons, were amongst the early members. Until 1783 the club met at the "Turk's Head" in Gerrard Street, Soho.

Johnson's conversation has been preserved for us by the zeal and industry of James Boswell, a young Scotch advocate, whose "Life of Dr. Johnson" is not only the best biography, but perhaps in the words of Macaulay "the most delightful narrative in the language." Boswell was a bright, intelligent and amiable young man with a passion for pushing his acquaintance among interesting people. He was somewhat vain, and unaffectedly undignified, and there was about him a want of reserve which amounted to a kind of intellectual immodesty. But his weaknesses endear him to his readers, and his book is great just because he had the important qualifications of unsparing diligence and acute perception, real insight into character, true admiration for greatness, and the gift of easy and pleasant narration. Meeting Johnson in the May of 1763, he has left us a wonderful record of the last twenty-one years of the great man's life.

Johnson was a conversational gladiator; he talked, as he owned, for victory. He loved a paradox in conversation, though he disliked it in print, because it made an immediate impression, and gave an instant opportunity for a battle of words. This made him glory in his prejudices, and exaggerate them. In his view of life he was, to some extent, what we now call a pessimist; he suffered much from ill-health and depression. But he had "a noble and a true conceit of god-like amity." Surrounded by his friends, he appears like a Christian Socrates, a wise and tolerant old

man, mingling freely in the everyday enjoyment of his younger companions, without any dyspeptic protests against such of their pleasures as he thought fit not to share.

In 1765 he came to know Mr. Thrale, the proprietor of a great brewery, a rich man and a member of parliament. Much of Johnson's time during the next sixteen or seventeen years was spent at Mr. Thrale's house at Streatham. His wife, Hester Lynch Thrale, a charming little lady, full of high spirits, did much to make Johnson happy, and "his irregular habits" as Boswell says, were "lessened by association with an agreeable and well ordered family."¹ The University of Dublin gave him the degree of LL.D. in the year 1765, and ten years afterwards his own University gave him a doctor's degree in laws. His edition of "Shakespeare" was published in 1765 with an important preface. In 1770 he produced a political pamphlet with reference to the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, the "False Alarm;" this was next year followed by another, "Thoughts on the Late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands." A third, "Taxation no Tyranny," 1775, maintained the right of the British parliament to tax the American colonists. None of these produced any effect, however momentary.

At the age of sixty-four (1773), Johnson took with Boswell a long tour in the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides. This was quite an adventurous expedition for an unwieldy man of his years, at a time when roads and wheeled carriages were unknown in the islands; and the "Great Cham of Literature" underwent not only a great deal of discomfort, but some considerable danger. But he went through it all with patience and good humour; and he has left us an account of it in his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland" (1775), although most people

¹ Boswell, Bohn, ii. 17.

will prefer to read Boswell's gossiping and lively "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides." In 1774 Dr. Johnson went with the Thrales on a tour in Wales, and in 1775 he visited France with them.

His last literary undertaking was to write Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the works of the English poets, included by the syndicate of booksellers in their great edition of 1779-1781. These Prefaces were soon republished as "Lives of the English Poets." Johnson was not responsible for the selection of names, though it was at his suggestion that the works of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret, and Yalden were added, a selection which excludes the great Elizabethans and the amatory and religious poets of the mid seventeenth century. Chaucer, and Spenser, and Shakespeare, Herrick, and Herbert are indeed absent; but then we have Walsh and "Rag" Smith, Duke and King, and Sprat. The work was done very unevenly, and is very unequal in value. There was not very much consultation of unpublished authorities. But he used Spence's MS. Collection of Anecdotes, lent by the Duke of Newcastle; and he was at some little pains to insert gossip and personal reminiscences, which would otherwise have vanished. The "Lives" remain our chief authority for many of the minor writers; while no modern biographer can afford to neglect the accounts given by Johnson of the great writers of the early eighteenth century. Of the criticism contained in the book, something will be said presently.

During the half-century he spent in London, Johnson had lived in nearly a score of different places. At first he changed his lodgings frequently. After his wife joined him in 1738 he lived in Castle Street, which runs parallel with Oxford Street; and then in the Strand and in several of the adjoining streets, in Holborn, in Gough Square (1748-1758), in Staple Inn, in Gray's Inn, Inner Temple

Lane (1760-1765), Johnson's Court, Fleet Street (1765-1777), and in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, for the last seven years of his life. In his home he had accumulated an extraordinary group of feeble and unfortunate people, whom he treated with great kindness and charity; Robert Levett, a broken down medical man, in whose skill Johnson professed the greatest trust; Miss Williams, a pale shrunken old lady afflicted with blindness; Mrs. Desmoulins and her daughter, to whom he allowed half-a-guinea a week, and Miss Carmichael. These inmates gave Johnson unnecessary trouble by their frequent quarrels. He told Mrs. Thrale on one occasion: "Williams hates everybody; Levett hates Desmoulins and does not love Williams: Desmoulins hates them both; Poll loves none of them."¹

In 1781 he lost his friend Mr. Thrale, who had made Johnson one of his executors. Mrs. Thrale soon formed an attachment to an Italian musician named Piozzi, and in the interests of her children as well as herself Johnson opposed this union. In 1784, however, she married, much against Johnson's wish, and their friendship was at an end. He suffered a great deal from asthma and sleeplessness. After visiting Oxford, Lichfield, and Birmingham in the summer, he was taken worse in November, and died on December 13th, 1784, aged 75.

Johnson was one of the most honest and independent of men; his powerful, masculine nature, and his hatred of unreality sometimes led him to speak with almost brutal violence; but there was a great depth of tenderness under his rough exterior. People of narrow natures at first saw only the outside. Mrs. Boswell said to her husband: "I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear."² But Goldsmith had keener

¹ Boswell, Bohn, iii. 363.

² Boswell, Bohn, ii. 249.

insight when he said, "He has nothing of the bear but the skin."¹ He had the firmest convictions in religion and politics; he disliked Whiggism and dissent; but some of his greatest friends were Whigs, and some of his favourite authors were nonconformists. We need not (with Macaulay) call him a bigot, because he practised abstinence on Good Friday. Judged by the standard of the age his mind was singularly free from superstitions, political and theological. He was less superstitious than Doddridge or Wesley, and other pious contemporaries, and who shall complain of his conditional belief in the Cock Lane ghost, a belief necessarily assumed merely for the purpose of examination, in these days of the Psychical Society?

II. JOHNSON'S CRITICISM.

Johnson's literary attitude is that of the average practical man, caught young and educated. He accepts the critical standards of the age, without much misgiving, and seldom goes behind them to ask the why and the wherefore. In the words of Macaulay he "decided literary questions like a lawyer, not like a legislator." Nowadays the critics try to decide them like philosophers, or men of science.

The main object of modern criticism is to show us how to understand, and how to enjoy, literary or artistic work. It strives to trace the special laws which underlie the different kinds of excellence. It does not assume that great literary achievement is always dependent on the same conditions, that there are any universal and necessary canons of beauty which will be always exemplified in the finest work. The best modern critics approach a great poem

¹ Boswell, Bohn, ii. 76.

somewhat as men of science approach a fact of nature. The duty of the critic is to analyse the complex effect produced on us, and to exhibit separately the conditions of its production. Although we may recognize that some types of beauty are more impressive, or more insistent, or more complete, than others, it is not for the critic to classify literary works as good or bad merely because they embody the particular ideals which he regards as most perfect.¹ Many critics do not accept this view of their functions even now. In the eighteenth century scarcely any accepted it. They pronounced a judgment on a work because it was or was not in accordance with the literary ideals then accepted. They did not stop to enquire whether there were other literary ideals equally valid.

The literary models of the eighteenth century were determined by three principal factors—regard for morality, regard for the classics, and regard for the opinion of the average plain man; in other words, by edification, correctness, and common sense. And the greatest of these three was common sense.

On the first of the ideals there is no need to say much. When we find Dennis laying down that it is the "duty of every tragic poet . . . to inculcate a particular Providence," we see that he carries the union of Church and Stage to a very exacting degree. When Dr. Johnson grumbles at Gray's "Bard," because it does not "promote any truth, moral or political," we are struck with the cramping effect on literature of this insatiable desire for edification. We are reminded of the senior wrangler who had been induced to read "Paradise Lost," and who returned the book with the remark that he did not see what it proved. The eighteenth century did not believe in art

¹ On what has been called Inductive Criticism, see Professor R. G. Moulton's "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," Introduction.

for art's sake. It was still dominated by Puritan scruples. Defoe lards his "Moll Flanders" with pious reflections—often half ironical, as it seems to the modern reader; while "Pamela" is "published in order to cultivate the principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of Both Sexes," and Swift himself, the supreme master of cynical humour, defends the "Beggar's Opera" in all seriousness as "an excellent moral performance."

The term "correctness," so often used by the eighteenth century critics is difficult to explain. It involves perfection of technique, the avoidance of all inadequacies and excesses of form; the achievement of clearness and precision in language, metre, and rhyme, and in what may be called the anatomy of epic and tragedy. There must be the proper word in the proper place; the right number of syllables in the line; the rhymes must be true; the work must begin and end in the proper way; the story must be told within the proper limitations as to length, number of books, or acts, number of characters, and so forth. The ideal aimed at, the approximation to which constituted correctness, was, however, not quite clearly defined. It was partly due to study of the French poets and critics of the reign of Louis XIV., and partly to the study of the sources from which these derived their inspiration, the classical poets and critics.

A dread of all strong feeling and of any vividness of expression which was likely to be regarded as hyperbolic in a very conventional age, went along with a dislike of the unsophisticated, the merely ordinary and simple. On the one hand there was the Scylla of "enthusiasm," on the other the Charybdis of the "familiar" and the "gross." Hence the absence of any fanciful or passionate lyrical poetry, hence the frigid decorum of the epics and tragedies. A special poetical diction followed as a matter of course; the poet required a "system of words at once refined from the

grossness of domestic use, and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts.”¹

Lord Macaulay in his boisterous attack on “correctness” in the essay on Moore’s “Life of Byron,”² makes two mistakes. He regards poetry simply as a purely imitative art; and he assumes that a purely imitative art is freed from all allegiance to the ideal. Poetry is at once a representative art like sculpture or painting, and a presentative art like music. Its object is not merely to put before us scenes which are not present and events which we have never witnessed, but to create for the ear beautiful melodies and harmonies of verse. It affects our emotions not only by what it puts before the visual imagination, but also by its appeal to the auditory and muscular sensations of tone and rhythm. Macaulay’s second error is more important. An imitative or representative art is not absolved from all regard for beauty; its sole aim is not accuracy of reproduction. Even a photograph is largely idealistic: pose, background and accessories, lighting, degree of detail, these points, and many more, require consideration and selection; and selection implies an ideal. The object of the photographer, and *à fortiori* of the painter or the poet, is not to produce an exact representation, but to produce a representation sufficiently exact to form the starting point of waves of suggestion. And the direction of these waves he controls by the exclusion of what is commonplace, or exaggerated, or unpleasant. And in this need for avoiding what clashes with our sense of beauty, we have the justification of rules, or rather principles, of “correct” form.

But these rules, like the principles of morality, tend to be regarded as good in and for themselves. Merit lies in the obedience to rule, and not in the achievement of what the

¹ Johnson’s “Life of Dryden,” Lives, Bohn, i. 435.

² “Essays,” pp. 148-151.

rule was intended to secure. Comply with all the precepts laid down by Aristotle and Longinus, by Bossu and Boileau, and your work will be perfect and immortal.

Much, indeed, of the eighteenth century poetry is simply unreadable; not, however, because it conforms to arbitrary rules, but because the poetical impulse which produced it was weak and chill. When a man of poetical genius like Pope, or Gray, or Goldsmith, writes, his work gains at least as much as it loses by compliance with fixed canons of literary form. What it surrenders in energy of expression and uncalculated felicity of achievement is made up to it by dignity, suggestiveness, and restraint. We have long since seen the end of that reaction against literary form which is exemplified by what Mr. Jacobs¹ terms the "amorphous masses called poems" produced by Southey and, we may add, Wordsworth. Many of our poets to-day are as much formalists as any of the eighteenth century writers; Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Austin Dobson, each is after his own kind a supreme master of technique.

But, notwithstanding the reverence for correctness, common sense is the central ideal in eighteenth century literature and criticism. It is the final test of excellence. "By the common sense of readers uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinement of subtlety and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claim to poetical honours."² The Augustan age was eminently a social one. The tastes of the best and most conventional classes in a well organised state formed the standard which Addison, and Pope, and Richardson had before them. Corsairs and outlaws and peasants were to be the ideal figures of the reaction under Byron and Scott and Wordsworth, after Rousseau had taught that the "state of nature" was superior to the

¹ "Tennyson and 'In Memoriam,'" by Joseph Jacobs, p. 6.

² Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 384.

social condition. To the men of the eighteenth century the "state of nature" presented few attractions. Their worship of common sense was due to their respect for properly ordered society. The beliefs of the vast majority of such a society tend to become alike, one type of opinion is formed. *My* common sense is the reflection in me of the average opinions of other plain men. "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus" becomes the criterion of truth. It requires a man of extraordinary courage to question beliefs so universal. They are found to fit in with the needs of practical life, and Berkeley is refuted with a kick. Science is freed from the "jargon" of technical terms; and philosophy is to be "brought out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables, and coffee-houses." Superficiality incarnate in the person of Tillotson occupies the pulpit.

It is, however, common sense which saves Johnson from being a pedant. Correctness is no doubt important, but common sense is still more important. He is quite prepared to criticise even Aristotle, if Aristotle is in conflict with common sense. He does not, like Dryden or even Addison, quote Bossu and Boileau with bated breath.

Johnson's criticism is thus usually right when he lays down some general truth of form, or deals with some question of formal consistency. He can point out contradictions, errors of reasoning, and errors of fact, faulty similes and imperfect rhymes. He falls short only when imagination and sympathy are required. He has not that fine natural insight into unfamiliar modes of action and feeling which makes a critic of the highest order. That alert perception of beauty which comes from ready sympathy with the artistic aims of others is absent; he sees only that a rule is broken, that a formal absurdity has been perpetrated; the beauty which it strives to embody escapes him.

Speaking generally, we may say that what he lays down in criticism is true as far as it goes. It is not the whole truth of course; no man ever sees the whole truth, and certainly no one proposition can ever contain the whole truth. But it is a part of the truth which is unsafe to neglect.

What he says, for instance, about poetical diction¹ is just enough: "Words too familiar or too remote defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions we do not easily receive strong impressions or delightful images; and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should transmit to things." But when he comes from laying down these general laws to apply them to particular cases he is liable to overlook the special circumstances. His condemnation of Dryden's nautical phraseology is undoubtedly too unqualified; he has not appreciated the superior vividness which comes from the use of such highly specialized language. His condemnation of the over-elaborated and frigid conceits of the metaphysical school is as good as possible,² but their fine lyrical talent he seems scarcely to have noticed, much less to have felt. He calls attention to Gray's occasional failure in a forced metaphor or simile and to what he happily calls the "cumbrous splendour" of the odes, but he has no ear for Gray's bright picturesqueness of phrase and his fine subtlety of rhythm.

Johnson again is entirely right to point out that the pastoral form and the allegorical allusions of "Lycidas" are highly artificial, and give a tone of unreality to the poem. "Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethusa and Mincius. Where there

¹ "Lives," Bohn, i. 435 (compare i. 448.)

² "Lives," Bohn, i. 24, 52.

is leisure for fiction there is little grief. . . . Its form is that of a pastoral whatever images it can supply are long ago exhausted, and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the mind." Yet, we ask, by what fatality does the critic come to utter in reference to "Lycidas" those truths which, if applied to the pastorals of Pope or Philips, we should not attempt to resist? And what are we to think of Johnson's capacity for directly perceiving beauty when he adds, "surely no man could have fancied that he read 'Lycidas' with pleasure had he not known the author."¹ This surely is letting his judgment get the better of him with a vengeance.

But after we have made all the necessary deductions, Johnson's criticism remains full of value, and especially for us. In periods when imagination and emotion are dominant in literature, and when men take most delight in just those literary elements which are least allied to pure reason, it is necessary that we should be sometimes recalled to the recognition of its more orderly, abstract and intellectual elements. Though the formal aspects have not all the importance which the eighteenth century assigned to them, they have much more importance than the nineteenth century is inclined to attribute to them. And nothing is more likely to enforce this on us than the grave sanity, the practical knowledge of the world, and the moral elevation of Johnson's criticism.

III. JOHNSON'S STYLE.

It is usually said that Johnson's style is highly latinized, and that it delights in polysyllables. This

¹ "Lives," Bohn, i. 168.

is certainly not true of the "Lives of the Poets;" though it has some slight foundation as applied to the "Rambler."

The following results were obtained from examining four passages (each of 200 lines) in each of the works mentioned:—

In the "Rambler: "

30·5 per cent of words of classical origin.

19 " " of more than two syllables.

In the "Lives of the Poets: "

28·7 per cent of words of classical origin.

13·1 " " of more than two syllables.

In Macaulay's "Essays: "

28·6 per cent. of words of classical origin.

16·5 " " of more than two syllables.

In two critical articles in the "Athenæum" (1893):

28·5 per cent. of words of classical origin.

17·5 " " of more than two syllables.

It will be noticed that the proportion of words of classical and Romance origin in the "Lives" is almost exactly the same as the proportion of these words in Macaulay, and in the reviewers of to-day. In the use of long words he is actually more sparing than Macaulay and the writer on the "Athenæum." Johnson has, I fancy, got his reputation for excessive Latinism from his habit of employing these long words just where most writers would use short ones; his familiar passages are much fuller of four-syllable words than those of the other writers mentioned, but he reduces his average by indulging in fewer polysyllables than the more modern writers when he comes to a more formal and technical passage. It is probably this employment of long and sonorous classical words when we expect short and unobtrusive English ones, which helps to give the impression of stiffness and ponderosity.

Thus for "greediness" he says "avidity," and for "freeing" he says "manumission;" for "cool courage" he says "deliberate intrepidity," and instead of calling a translation "too free" he terms it "licentiously paraphrastical."

Allied with this is his tendency to use the abstract for the concrete, *e.g.*, "Whiggism" for "Whigs." He tells us that Milton's "natural port is gigantic loftiness," or that Warburton "excelled in critical perspicacity", where adverbs and adjectives would do at least as well. And he is fond of writing a couple of abstract nouns where most writers would employ only one linked with an adjective: *e.g.*, he speaks of "imprudence of generosity or vanity of profusion" instead of "imprudent generosity or vain profusion." Similar to these are such sentences as follows:—"No writer had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect or the impertinence of civility;" "He never spared any asperity of reproach or brutality of insolence." And he speaks of an attempt "to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality."

Johnson's sentences are usually short. There are none of the cumbrous and involved clauses, in which our writers, from Hooker to Locke, so frequently delighted. If a sentence exceeds three lines, it is usually broken up by semicolons into co-ordinate and virtually unconnected parts.

But these uninvolved sentences are not always natural in structure. Johnson is fond of inversion; and a favourite device of his is that of beginning a sentence with a prepositional phrase: "To a thousand cavils one answer is sufficient." "Of the first stanza the abrupt beginning has been celebrated." Or he begins with a dependent clause: "When the Hanoverian succession was disputed, Tickell gave what assistance his pen would supply." "That in the

reigns of Charles and James the 'Paradise Lost' received no public acclamations is readily confessed." He gives an appearance of inversion to some sentences by omitting the impersonal "it" we usually employ when the real subject is a noun clause. Instead of saying "It is to be lamented that——" he writes, "That this poem was never written is reasonably to be lamented."

The late Professor Minto¹ points out that Johnson is fond of "abruptly introducing a general principle before the particular circumstance that it applies to." This peculiarity, he adds, was adopted by Macaulay, whose style owes more to that of Johnson than is usually acknowledged. In fact, we may say that Macaulay's style is Johnson's, broken into short sentences, freed from inversion, and rendered concrete.

Antithesis and balance are constantly employed. Opposed terms are set over against each other; and a strict parallelism is observed in order to emphasize the opposition. No English writer since the time of Lyly had employed this rhetorical artifice to the same extent. No writer until Macaulay employed it again to the same extent. After the lumbering and trailing clauses of the seventeenth century, it is delightful to get these clear cut epigrams: "He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion." "He hated monarchs in the State, and prelates in the Church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey." "He was never reduced to the necessity of soliciting the sun to shine upon a birthday, of calling the graces to a wedding, or of saying what multitudes had said before him. When he could produce nothing new, he was at liberty to be silent." "Pope was not content to satisfy; he dared to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best; he did not

¹ "English Prose Writers." (Johnson.)

court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader ; and expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself." It is easy to multiply such passages ; and, indeed, it must be owned that much of their effect is lost by the frequency with which they are repeated.¹

His more elaborate sentences are carefully constructed with what musicians would call suspended resolutions ; and differ in this way from what some one terms the flippant snip-snap of Macaulay. His style is often harmonious, though it is not worthy to be compared in this respect with the style of Sir Thomas Browne, or with the best passages of Milton. It is often wanting in flexibility, and sometimes in vivacity. But it is always clear, weighty, and vigorous.

IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ADDISON'S LIFE.

- 1672. Born at Milston, near Amesbury (May 1st).
- 1683. Addison's father goes to Lichfield. Addison placed at Lichfield Grammar School.
- 1685 (?) At the Charter-house.
- 1687. Entered at Queen's College, Oxford.
- 1689. Elected Demy at Magdalen.
- 1693. Takes his M.A. degree.
Writes "Verses to Dryden."
- 1694. "Account of the Greatest English Poets" and other poems in the fourth volume of "Miscellany Poems" edited by Dryden.
- 1695. Writes his "Poem to His Majesty."
- 1698. Elected full fellow of Magdalen.
Latin poems in the "Examen Poeticum."

¹ The antithesis, too, is often, as with Lyly, apparent rather than real.

1699. Second volume of the "*Musæ Anglicanæ*."
Travelling allowance of £300 a year.¹
Goes to Paris, and to Blois.
1700. In France.
1701. In Italy. Crosses the Alps to Geneva (Nov.).
1702. At Vienna in November. Writes his "Dialogue on
Medals" (published 1721).
1703. Comes home through Holland.
Death of his father.
"Letter from Italy," published.
1704. "The Campaign," published (Battle of Blenheim,
Aug. 13th).
Commissioner of Appeals in place of Locke.
1705. "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy," published.
Writes Prologue to Steele's "Tender Husband."
1706. Under Secretary of State (till 1708).
1707. "Rosamond" acted (March).
"Present State of the War," published.
Goes to Hanover with Lord Halifax.
1708. M.P. for Lostwithiel. (Election declared void next
year.)
1709. Secretary to Lord Wharton (till 1710).
Keeper of the Irish Records.
"The Tatler" commenced, April 12th.
M.P. for Cavan, in Irish Parliament.
M.P. for Malmesbury, in English Parliament. (Re-
elected next year.)
1710. In Ireland from May to August.
Whig Ministry falls. Addison loses his post as
Under Secretary.
"The Whig Examiner" (Sept.-Oct.).
1711. "The Tatler" comes to an end, Jan. 2nd.
"The Spectator" begins, March 1st.

¹ On this see p. 64 below.

1711. Buys an estate at Bilton, in Warwickshire, for £10,000.
He tells Wortley Montagu (in July), that he has
"within this twelvemonth lost a place of £2,000
per annum, an estate in the Indies of £14,000,
and what is worse than this my mistress."¹
(Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 401).
1712. Writes Epilogue to Philip's "Distrest Mother."
"The Spectator" (first issue), comes to an end
(Dec. 6th.)
1713. "The Guardian" (March 12th—Oct. 1st).
"Cato" acted, April 14th.
"Trial of Count Tariff."
1714. "The Reader."
"The Spectator" revived (June 18th—Dec. 20th).
Secretary to the Lords Justices.
Secretary to Earl of Sunderland, Lord Lieutenant
of Ireland.
1715. M.P. for Malmesbury (third time).
Pope's "Iliad," vol. i., published.
A Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations
(Dec.).
"The Freeholder" begins (Dec. 23rd).
1716. "The Drummer" acted (March 10th).
Married to the Countess of Warwick (Aug. 3rd).
1717. Secretary of State (April 16th).
Grant of £3,000 secret service money.
1718. Resigns the Secretaryship (March 14th).

¹ Mr. Leslie Stephen understands the "loss of £14,000" to be hypothetical, and to refer to his great difficulty in realizing his share of the estate of his deceased brother, Gulston Addison, Governor of Fort St. George, d. 1709. The fortune should have been £14,000, but a final liquidation was not reached till 1716, and then the actual sum accruing to the essayist amounted to less than a tenth of this. Of the mistress lost in 1711 nothing is known.

1718. Pension of £1,600 a year.¹
 1719. "The Old Whig" (March—April).
 Quarrel with Steele.
 Dies, June 17th.
 1721. Tickell's edition of his works.

V. BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The following books will be found useful by the student:

- Addison's "Works," Bohn's edition, 6 vols.
 Courthope, "Addison."
 Macaulay, "Essay on Addison."
 L. Stephen, article "Addison" in "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. i.
 L. Aikin, "Life of Addison" (out of print).
 A. Dobson, "Steele."
 Spence, "Anecdotes" (Singer's editions of 1820 and 1858 are out of print; but the Camelot selection can be recommended).
 Wheeler, "Digest Index to the 'Spectator.'" ¹
 Morley, "Spectator" in one vol. (for reference).
 Cheap second-hand copies of the "Tatler" and "Spectator" can be got at any second-hand bookseller's.
 Among large works, dealing with members of the Addisonian circle:
 G. A. Aitken, "Life of Steele," 2 vols.
 Craik, "Life of Swift."
 Elwin and Courthorpe's edition of "Pope," 10 vols.
 Johnson, "Lives of the Poets," Bohn edition, edited by Mrs. Napier, or Cunningham's, both in three volumes.

¹ Most biographers say £1,500, but see p. 86 below.

ADDISON.

JOSEPH ADDISON was born on the first of May, 1672, at Milston, of which his father, Lancelot Addison, was then rector, near Ambrosbury in Wiltshire, and appearing weak and unlikely to live, he was christened the same day. After the usual domestick education, which, from the character of his father, may be reasonably supposed to have given him strong impressions of piety, he was committed to the care of Mr. Naish at Ambrosbury, and afterwards of Mr. Taylor at Salisbury.

Not to name the school or the masters of men illustrious ¹⁰ for literature, is a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished: I would therefore trace him through the whole process of his education. In 1683, in the beginning of his twelfth year, his father being made dean of Lichfield, naturally carried his family to his new residence, and, I believe, placed him for some time, probably not long, under Mr. Shaw, then master of the school at Lichfield, father of the late Dr. Peter Shaw. Of this interval his biographers have given no account, and I know it only from a story of a *barring-out*, told me, when ²⁰ I was a boy, by Andrew Corbet of Shropshire, who had heard it from Mr. Pigot his uncle.

The practice of *barring-out*, was a savage license, practised in many schools to the end of the last century, by which the boys, when the periodical vacation drew near, growing petulant at the approach of liberty, some days

before the time of regular recess, took possession of the school, of which they barred the doors, and bade their master defiance from the windows. It is not easy to suppose that on such occasions the master would do more than laugh; yet, if tradition may be credited, he often struggled hard to force or surprise the garrison. The master, when Pigot was a school-boy, was *barred-out* at Lichfield, and the whole operation, as he said, was planned and conducted by Addison.

- 10 To judge better of the probability of this story, I have enquired when he was sent to the Chartreux; but, as he was not one of those who enjoyed the Founder's benefaction, there is no account preserved of his admission. At the school of the Chartreux, to which he was removed either from that of Salisbury or Lichfield, he pursued his juvenile studies under the care of Dr. Ellis, and contracted that intimacy with Sir Richard Steele, which their joint labours have so effectually recorded.

Of this memorable friendship the greater praise must be
20 given to Steele. It is not hard to love those from whom nothing can be feared, and Addison never considered Steele as a rival; but Steele lived, as he confesses, under an habitual subjection to the predominating genius of Addison, whom he always mentioned with reverence, and treated with obsequiousness.

Addison, who knew his own dignity, could not always forbear to shew it, by playing a little upon his admirer; but he was in no danger of retort: his jests were endured without resistance or resentment.

- 30 But the sneer of jocularitv was not the worst. Steele, whose imprudence of generosity, or vanity of profusion, kept him always incurably necessitous, upon some pressing exigence, in an evil hour, borrowed an hundred pounds of his friend, probably without much purpose of repayment; but Addison, who seems to have had other notions of a

hundred pounds, grew impatient of delay, and reclaimed his loan by an execution. Steele felt with great sensibility the obduracy of his creditor; but with emotions of sorrow rather than of anger.

In 1687 he was entered into Queen's College in Oxford, where, in 1689, the accidental perusal of some Latin verses gained him the patronage of Dr. Lancaster, afterwards provost of Queen's College; by whose recommendation he was elected into Magdalen College as a Demy, a term by which that society denominates those which are 10 elsewhere called Scholars; young men, who partake of the founder's benefaction, and succeed in their order to vacant fellowships.

Here he continued to cultivate poetry and criticism, and grew first eminent by his Latin compositions, which are indeed entitled to particular praise. He has not confined himself to the imitation of any ancient author, but has formed his style from the general language, such as a diligent perusal of the productions of different ages happened to supply. 20

His Latin compositions seem to have had much of his fondness; for he collected a second volume of the "*Musæ Anglicanæ*," perhaps for a convenient receptacle, in which all his Latin pieces are inserted, and where his Poem on the Peace has the first place. He afterwards presented the collection to Boileau, who from that time *conceived*, says Tickell, *an opinion of the English genius for poetry*. Nothing is better known of Boileau, than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin, and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect 30 of his civility rather than approbation.

Three of his Latin poems are upon subjects on which perhaps he would not have ventured to have written in his own language. "The Battle of the Pigmies and Cranes;" "The Barometer;" and "A Bowling-green." When the

matter is low or scanty, a dead language, in which nothing is mean because nothing is familiar, affords great conveniences; and by the sonorous magnificence of Roman syllables, the writer conceals penury of thought, and want of novelty, often from the reader, and often from himself.

In his twenty-second year he first shewed his power of English poetry, by some verses addressed to Dryden; and soon afterwards published a translation of the greater part of the Fourth Georgick upon Bees; after which, says
10 Dryden, *my latter swarm is hardly worth the living.*

About the same time he composed the arguments prefixed to the several books of Dryden's "Virgil;" and produced an Essay on the Georgicks, juvenile, superficial, and uninformative, without much either of the scholar's learning or the critic's penetration.

His next paper of verses contained a character of the principal English poets, inscribed to Henry Sacheverell, who was then, if not a poet, a writer of verses; as is shewn by his version of a small part of Virgil's Georgicks, published in the Miscellanies, and a Latin encomium on queen
20 Mary, in the "Musæ Anglicanæ." These verses exhibit all the fondness of friendship; but on one side or the other, friendship was afterwards too weak for the malignity of faction.

In this poem is a very confident and discriminative character of Spenser, whose work he had then never read. So little sometimes is criticism the effect of judgement. It is necessary to inform the reader, that about this time he was introduced by Congreve to Montague, then Chan-
30 cellor of the Exchequer: Addison was then learning the trade of a courtier, and subjoined Montague as a poetical name to those of Cowley and of Dryden.

By the influence of Mr. Montague, concurring, according to Tickell, with his natural modesty, he was diverted from his original design of entering into holy orders.

Montague alleged the corruption of men who engaged in civil employments without liberal education ; and declared, that, though he was represented as an enemy to the Church, he would never do it any injury but by withholding Addison from it.

Soon after (in 1695) he wrote a poem to king William, with a rhyming introduction addressed to lord Somers. King William had no regard to elegance or literature ; his study was only war ; yet by a choice of ministers, whose disposition was very different from his own, he procured, ¹⁰ without intention, a very liberal patronage to poetry. Addison was caressed both by Somers and Montague.

In 1697 appeared his Latin verses on the peace of Ryswick, which he dedicated to Montague, and which was afterwards called by Smith *the best Latin poem since the "Æneid."* Praise must not be too rigorously examined ; but the performance cannot be denied to be vigorous and elegant.

Having yet no publick employment, he obtained (in 1699) a pension of three hundred pounds a year, that he ²⁰ might be enabled to travel. He staid a year at Blois, probably to learn the French language ; and then proceeded in his journey to Italy, which he surveyed with the eyes of a poet.

While he was travelling at leisure, he was far from being idle ; for he not only collected his observations on the country, but found time to write his "Dialogues on Medals," and four Acts of "Cato." Such at least is the relation of Tickell. Perhaps he only collected his materials, and formed his plan.

Whatever were his other employments in Italy, he there wrote the letter to lord Halifax, which is justly considered as the most elegant, if not the most sublime, of his poetical productions. But in about two years he found it necessary to hasten home ; being, as Swift informs us, dis-

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tressed by indigence, and compelled to become the tutor of a travelling Squire, because his pension was not remitted.

At his return he published his *Travels*, with a dedication to lord Somers. As his stay in foreign countries was short, his observations are such as might be supplied by a hasty view, and consist chiefly in comparisons of the present face of the country with the descriptions left us by the Roman poets, from whom he made preparatory collections, though he might have spared the trouble, had he
10 known that such collections had been made twice before by Italian authors.

The most amusing passage of his book, is his account of the minute republick of San Marino; of many parts it is not a very severe censure to say that they might have been written at home. His elegance of language, and variegation of prose and verse, however, gains upon the reader; and the book, though a while neglected, became in time so much the favourite of the publick, that before it was reprinted it rose to five times its price.

20 When he returned to England (in 1702), with a meanness of appearance which gave testimony of the difficulties to which he had been reduced, he found his old patrons out of power, and was therefore for a time at full leisure for the cultivation of his mind, and a mind so cultivated gives reason to believe that little time was lost.

But he remained not long neglected or useless. The victory at Blenheim (1704) spread triumph and confidence over the nation; and lord Godolphin lamenting to lord Halifax, that it had not been celebrated in a manner equal
30 to the subject, desired him to propose it to some better poet. Halifax told him that there was no encouragement for genius; that worthless men were unprofitably enriched with publick money, without any care to find or employ those whose appearance might do honour to their country. To this Godolphin replied, that such abuses should in time

be rectified ; and that if a man could be found capable of the task then proposed, he should not want an ample recompense. Halifax then named Addison ; but required that the Treasurer should apply to him in his own person. Godolphin sent the message by Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carleton ; and Addison having undertaken the work, communicated it to the Treasurer, while it was yet advanced no further than the simile of the Angel, and was immediately rewarded by succeeding Mr. Locke in the place of *Commissioner of Appeals*.

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In the following year he was at Hanover with lord Halifax ; and the year after was made under-secretary of state, first to Sir Charles Hedges, and in a few months more to the earl of Sunderland.

About this time the prevalent taste for Italian operas inclined him to try what would be the effect of a musical Drama in our own language. He therefore wrote the opera of "Rosamond," which, when exhibited on the stage, was either hissed or neglected ; but trusting that the readers would do him more justice, he published it, with 20 an inscription to the dutchess of Marlborough ; a woman without skill, or pretensions to skill, in poetry or literature. His dedication was therefore an instance of servile absurdity, to be exceeded only by Joshua Barnes's dedication of a Greek Anacreon to the Duke.

His reputation had been somewhat advanced by "The Tender Husband," a comedy which Steele dedicated to him, with a confession that he owed to him several of the most successful scenes. To this play Addison supplied a prologue.

When the marquis of Wharton was appointed lord 30 lieutenant of Ireland, Addison attended him as his secretary ; and was made keeper of the records in Birmingham's Tower, with a salary of three hundred pounds a year. The office was little more than nominal, and the salary was augmented for his accommodation.

Interest and faction allow little to the operation of particular dispositions, or private opinions. Two men of personal characters more opposite than those of Wharton and Addison, could not easily be brought together. Wharton was impious, profligate, and shameless, without regard, or appearance of regard, to right and wrong: whatever is contrary to this, may be said of Addison; but as agents of a party they were connected, and how they adjusted their other sentiments we cannot know.

10 Addison must however not be too hastily condemned. It is not necessary to refuse benefits from a bad man, when the acceptance implies no approbation of his crimes; nor has the subordinate officer any obligation to examine the opinions or conduct of those under whom he acts, except that he may not be made the instrument of wickedness. It is reasonable to suppose that Addison counteracted, as far as he was able, the malignant and blasting influence of the Lieutenant, and that at least by his intervention some good was done, and some mischief prevented.

20 When he was in office, he made a law to himself, as Swift has recorded, never to remit his regular fees in civility to his friends: "For," said he, "I may have a hundred friends; and, if my fee be two guineas, I shall, by relinquishing my right, lose two hundred guineas, and no friend gain more than two; there is therefore no proportion between the good imparted and the evil suffered."

He was in Ireland when Steele, without any communication of his design, began the publication of the "Tatler;" but he was not long concealed: by inserting a remark on 30 Virgil, which Addison had given him, he discovered himself. It is indeed not easy for any man to write upon literature, or common life, so as not to make himself known to those with whom he familiarly converses, and who are acquainted with his track of study, his favourite topicks, his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases.

If Steele desired to write in secret, he was not lucky ; a single month detected him. His first "Tatler" was published April 22 (1709), and Addison's contribution appeared May 26. Tickell observes, that the "Tatler" began and was concluded without his concurrence. This is doubtless literally true ; but the work did not suffer much by his unconsciousness of its commencement, or his absence at its cessation ; for he continued his assistance to December 23, and the paper stopped on January 2. He did not distinguish his pieces by any signature ; and I know not ¹⁰ whether his name was not kept secret, till the papers were collected into volumes.

To the "Tatler," in about two months, succeeded the "Spectator ;" a series of essays of the same kind, but written with less levity, upon a more regular plan, and published daily. Such an undertaking shewed the writers not to distrust their own copiousness of materials or facility of composition, and their performance justified their confidence. They found, however, in their progress, many auxiliaries. To attempt a single paper was no terrifying ²⁰ labour : many pieces were offered, and many were received.

Addison had enough of the zeal of party, but Steele had at that time almost nothing else. The "Spectator," in one of the first papers, shewed the political tenets of its authors ; but a resolution was soon taken, of courting general approbation by general topics, and subjects on which faction had produced no diversity of sentiments ; such as literature, morality, and familiar life. To this practice they adhered with very few deviations. The ardour of Steele once broke out in praise of Marlborough ; and ³⁰ when Dr. Fleetwood prefixed to some sermons a preface, overflowing with whiggish opinions, that it might be read by the Queen, it was reprinted in the "Spectator."

To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those

depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted by *Casa* in his book of "Manners," and *Castiglione* in his "Courtier;" two books yet celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance, and which, if they are now less read, are neglected only because they have effected that reformation which their authors intended, and their precepts now are no longer wanted. Their usefulness to the age in which
10 they were written, is sufficiently attested by the translations which almost all the nations of Europe were in haste to obtain.

This species of instruction was continued, and perhaps advanced, by the French; among whom *La Bruyere's* "Manners of the Age," though, as Boileau remarked, it is written without connection, certainly deserves great praise, for liveliness of description and justness of observation.

Before the "Tatler" and "Spectator," if the writers for
20 the theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply. We had many books to teach us our more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy or politicks; but an *Arbiter elegantiarum*, a judge of propriety, was yet wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which teaze the passer, though they do not wound
30 him.

For this purpose nothing is so proper as the frequent publication of short papers, which we read not as study but amusement. If the subject be slight, the treatise likewise is short. The busy may find time, and the idle may find patience.

This mode of conveying cheap and easy knowledge began among us in the Civil War, when it was much the interest of either party to raise and fix the prejudices of the people. At that time appeared "*Mercurius Aulicus*," "*Mercurius Rusticus*," and "*Mercurius Civicus*." It is said, that when any title grew popular, it was stolen by the antagonist, who by this stratagem conveyed his notions to those who would not have received him had he not worn the appearance of a friend. The tumult of those unhappy days left scarcely any man leisure to treasure up occasional compositions; 10 and so much were they neglected, that a complete collection is no where to be found.

These "*Mercuries*" were succeeded by L'Estrange's "*Observer*," and that by Lesley's "*Rehearsal*," and perhaps by others; but hitherto nothing had been conveyed to the people, in this commodious manner, but controversy relating to the Church or State; of which they taught many to talk, whom they could not teach to judge.

It has been suggested that the Royal Society was instituted soon after the Restoration, to divert the attention 20 of the people from publick discontent. The "*Tatler*" and "*Spectator*" had the same tendency: they were published at a time when two parties, loud, restless, and violent, each with plausible declarations, and each perhaps without any distinct termination of its views, were agitating the nation; to minds heated with political contest, they supplied cooler and more inoffensive reflections; and it is said by Addison, in a subsequent work, that they had a perceptible influence upon the conversation of that time, and taught the frolick and the gay to unite merriment with decency; an effect 30 which they can never wholly lose, while they continue to be among the first books by which both sexes are initiated in the elegances of knowledge.

The "*Tatler*" and "*Spectator*" adjusted, like Casa, the unsettled practice of daily intercourse by propriety and

politeness ; and, like La Bruyere, exhibited the *Characters and Manners of the Age*. The personages introduced in these papers were not merely ideal ; they were then known, and conspicuous in various stations. Of the "Tatler" this is told by Steele in his last paper, and of the "Spectator" by Budgell in the Preface to "Theophrastus ;" a book which Addison has recommended, and which he was suspected to have revised, if he did not write it. Of those portraits, which may be supposed to be sometimes embellished, and sometimes aggravated, the originals are now partly known, and partly forgotten.

But to say that they united the plans of two or three eminent writers, is to give them but a small part of their due praise ; they superadded literature and criticism, and sometimes towered far above their predecessors ; and taught, with great justness of argument and dignity of language, the most important duties and sublime truths.

All these topicks were happily varied with elegant fictions and refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style and felicities of invention.

It is recorded by Budgell, that of the characters feigned or exhibited in the "Spectator," the favourite of Addison was Sir Roger de Coverley, of whom he had formed a very delicate and discriminated idea, which he would not suffer to be violated ; and therefore when Steele had shewn him innocently picking up a girl in the Temple, and taking her to a tavern, he drew upon himself so much of his friend's indignation, that he was forced to appease him by a promise of forbearing Sir Roger for the time to come.

The reason which induced Cervantes to bring his hero to the grave, *para mi sola nacio Don Quixote, y yo para el*, made Addison declare, with an undue vehemence of expression, that he would kill Sir Roger ; being of opinion that they were born for one another, and that any other hand would do him wrong.

It may be doubted whether Addison ever filled up his original delineation. He describes his Knight as having his imagination somewhat warped; but of this perversion he has made very little use. The irregularities in Sir Roger's conduct, seem not so much the effects of a mind deviating from the beaten track of life, by the perpetual pressure of some overwhelming idea, as of habitual rusticity, and that negligence which solitary grandeur naturally generates.

The variable weather of the mind, the flying vapours of incipient madness, which from time to time cloud reason, without eclipsing it, it requires so much nicety to exhibit, that Addison seems to have been deterred from prosecuting his own design.

To Sir Roger, who, as a country gentleman, appears to be a Tory, or, as it is gently expressed, an adherent to the landed interest, is opposed Sir Andrew Freeport, a new man, a wealthy merchant, zealous for the moneyed interest, and a Whig. Of this contrariety of opinions, it is probable more consequences were at first intended, than could be produced when the resolution was taken to exclude party from the paper. Sir Andrew does but little, and that little seems not to have pleased Addison, who, when he dismissed him from the club, changed his opinions. Steele had made him, in the true spirit of unfeeling commerce, declare that he *would not build an hospital for idle people*; but at last he buys land, settles in the country, and builds not a manufactory, but an hospital for twelve old husbandmen, for men with whom a merchant has little acquaintance, and whom he commonly considers with little kindness.

Of essays thus elegant, thus instructive, and thus commodiously distributed, it is natural to suppose the approbation general and the sale numerous. I once heard it observed, that the sale may be calculated by the product

of the tax, related in the last number to produce more than twenty pounds a week, and therefore stated at one and twenty pounds, or three pounds ten shillings a day: this, at a half-penny a paper, will give sixteen hundred and eighty for the daily number.

This sale is not great; yet this, if Swift be credited, was likely to grow less; for he declares that the "Spectator," whom he ridicules for his endless mention of the *fair sex*, had before his recess wearied his readers.

10 The next year (1713), in which "Cato" came upon the stage, was the grand climacterick of Addison's reputation. Upon the death of Cato, he had, as is said, planned a tragedy in the time of his travels, and had for several years the four first acts finished, which were shewn to such as were likely to spread their admiration. They were seen by Pope, and by Cibber; who relates that Steele, when he took back the copy, told him, in the despicable cant of literary modesty, that, whatever spirit his friend had shewn in the composition, he doubted whether he would
20 have courage sufficient to expose it to the censure of a British audience.

The time however was now come, when those who affected to think liberty in danger, affected likewise to think that a stage-play might preserve it; and Addison was importuned, in the name of the tutelary deities of Britain, to shew his courage and his zeal by finishing his design.

To resume his work he seemed perversely and unaccountably unwilling; and by a request, which perhaps he wished
30 to be denied, desired Mr. Hughes to add a fifth act. Hughes supposed him serious; and, undertaking the supplement, brought in a few days some scenes for his examination; but he had in the mean time gone to work himself, and produced half an act, which he afterwards completed, but with brevity irregularly disproportionate to

the foregoing parts; like a task performed with reluctance, and hurried to its conclusion.

It may yet be doubted whether "Cato" was made public by any change of the author's purpose; for Dennis charged him with raising prejudices in his own favour by false positions of preparatory criticism, and with *poisoning the town* by contradicting in the "Spectator" the established rule of poetical justice, because his own hero, with all his virtues, was to fall before a tyrant. The fact is certain; the motives we must guess.

10

Addison was, I believe, sufficiently disposed to bar all avenues against all danger. When Pope brought him the prologue, which is properly accommodated to the play, there were these words, *Britons, arise, be worth like this approved*; meaning nothing more than, Britons, erect and exalt yourselves to the approbation of public virtue. Addison was frightened lest he should be thought a promoter of insurrection, and the line was liquidated to *Britons, attend*.

Now, *heavily in clouds came on the day, the great, the 20 important day*, when Addison was to stand the hazard of the theatre. That there might, however, be left as little to hazard as was possible, on the first night Steele, as himself relates, undertook to pack an audience. This, says Pope, had been tried for the first time in favour of the "Distrest Mother;" and was now, with more efficacy, practised for "Cato."

The danger was soon over. The whole nation was at that time on fire with faction. The Whigs applauded every line in which Liberty was mentioned, as a satire on 30 the Tories; and the Tories echoed every clap, to shew that the satire was unfelt. The story of Bolingbroke is well known. He called Booth to his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of Liberty so well against a perpetual dictator. The Whigs, says Pope, design a

second present, when they can accompany it with as good a sentence.

The play, supported thus by the emulation of factious praise, was acted night after night for a longer time than, I believe, the publick had allowed to any drama before; and the author, as Mrs. Porter long afterwards related, wandered through the whole exhibition behind the scenes with restless and unappeasable solicitude.

When it was printed, notice was given that the Queen
10 would be pleased if it was dedicated to her; *but as he had designed that compliment elsewhere, he found himself obliged, says Tickell, by his duty on the one hand, and his honour on the other, to send it into the world without any dedication.*

Human happiness has always its abatements; the brightest sun-shine of success is not without a cloud. No sooner was "Cato" offered to the reader, than it was attacked by the acute malignity of Dennis, with all the violence of angry criticism. Dennis, though equally zealous, and probably by his temper more furious than Addison, for what they
20 called liberty, and though a flatterer of the Whig ministry, could not sit quiet at a successful play; but was eager to tell friends and enemies, that they had misplaced their admirations. The world was too stubborn for instruction; with the fate of the censurer of Corneille's "Cid," his animadversions shewed his anger without effect, and "Cato" continued to be praised.

Pope had now an opportunity of courting the friendship of Addison, by vilifying his old enemy, and could give resentment its full play without appearing to revenge him-
30 self. He therefore published "A Narrative of the madness of John Dennis;" a performance which left the objections to the play in their full force, and therefore discovered more desire of vexing the critick than of defending the poet.

Addison, who was no stranger to the world, probably saw the selfishness of Pope's friendship; and, resolving

that he should have the consequences of his officiousness to himself, informed Dennis by Steele, that he was sorry for the insult; and that whenever he should think fit to answer his remarks, he would do it in a manner to which nothing could be objected.

The greatest weakness of the play is in the scenes of love, which are said by Pope to have been added to the original plan upon a subsequent review, in compliance with the popular practice of the stage. Such an authority it is hard to reject; yet the love is so intimately mingled with the whole action, that it cannot easily be thought extrinsick and adventitious; for if it were taken away, what would be left? or how were the four acts filled in the first draught?

At the publication the Wits seemed proud to pay their attendance with ecomiastick verses. The best are from an unknown hand, which will perhaps lose somewhat of their praise when the author is known to be Jeffreys.

"Cato" had yet other honours. It was censured as a party-play by a *Scholar of Oxford* and defended in a favourable examination by Dr. Sewel. It was translated by Salvini into Italian, and acted at Florence; and by the Jesuits of St. Omer's into Latin, and played by their pupils. Of this version a copy was sent to Mr. Addison: it is to be wished that it could be found, for the sake of comparing their version of the soliloquy with that of Bland.

A tragedy was written on the same subject by Des Champs, a French poet, which was translated, with a criticism on the English play. But the translator and the critick are now forgotten.

Dennis lived on unanswered, and therefore little read: Addison knew the policy of literature too well to make his enemy important, by drawing the attention of the publick upon a criticism, which, though sometimes intemperate, was often irrefragable.

While "Cato" was upon the stage, another daily paper,

called "The Guardian," was published by Steele. To this, Addison gave great assistance, whether occasionally or by previous engagement is not known.

The character of "Guardian" was too narrow and too serious: it might properly enough admit both the duties and the decencies of life, but seemed not to include literary speculations, and was in some degree violated by merriment and burlesque. What had the Guardian of the Lizards to do with clubs of tall or of little men, with nests of ants, 10 or with Strada's prolusions?

Of this paper nothing is necessary to be said, but that it found many contributors, and that it was a continuation of the "Spectator," with the same elegance, and the same variety, till some unlucky sparkle from a Tory paper set Steele's politicks on fire, and wit at once blazed into faction. He was soon too hot for neutral topicks, and quitted the "Guardian" to write the "Englishman."

The papers of Addison are marked in the "Spectator" by one of the Letters in the name of "Clio," and in the 20 "Guardian" by a *hand*; whether it was, as Tickell pretends to think, that he was unwilling to usurp the praise of others, or as Steele, with far greater likelihood, insinuates, that he could not without discontent impart to others any of his own. I have heard that his avidity did not satisfy itself with the air of renown, but that with great eagerness he laid hold on his proportion of the profits.

Many of these papers were written with powers truly comick, with nice discrimination of characters, and accurate observation of natural or accidental deviations from propriety; but it was not supposed that he had tried a comedy 30 on the stage, till Steele, after his death, declared him the author of the "Drummer;" this however Steele did not know to be true by any direct testimony; for when Addison put the play into his hands, he only told him, it was the work of a *Gentleman in the Company*; and when it was

received, as is confessed, with cold disapprobation, he was probably less willing to claim it. Tickell omitted it in his collection; but the testimony of Steele, and the total silence of any other claimant, has determined the publick to assign it to Addison, and it is now printed with his other poetry Steele carried the "Drummer" to the playhouse, and afterwards to the press, and sold the copy for fifty guineas.

To the opinion of Steele may be added the proof supplied by the play itself, of which the characters are such as Addison would have delineated, and the tendency such 10 as Addison would have promoted. That it should have been ill received would raise wonder, did we not daily see the capricious distribution of theatrical praise.

He was not all this time an indifferent spectator of publick affairs. He wrote, as different exigences required (in 1707), "The present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation;" which, however judicious, being written on temporary topicks, and exhibiting no peculiar powers, laid hold on no attention, and has naturally sunk by its own weight into neglect. This cannot be said 20 of the few papers entitled "The Whig Examiner," in which is employed all the force of gay malevolence and humorous satire. Of this paper, which just appeared and expired, Swift remarks, with exultation, that *it is now down among the dead men*. He might well rejoice at the death of that which he could not have killed. Every reader of every party, since personal malice is past, and the papers which once inflamed the nation are read only as effusions of wit, must wish for more of the "Whig Examiners;" for on no occasion was the genius of Addison more 30 vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear. His "Trial of Count Tariff," written to expose the Treaty of Commerce with France, lived no longer than the question that produced it.

Not long afterwards an attempt was made to revive the

"Spectator," at a time indeed by no means favourable to literature, when the succession of a new family to the throne filled the nation with anxiety, discord, and confusion: and either the turbulence of the times, or the satiety of the readers, put a stop to the publication, after an experiment of eighty numbers, which were afterwards collected into an eighth volume, perhaps more valuable than any one of those that went before it. Addison produced more than a fourth part, and the other contributors
10 are by no means unworthy of appearing as his associates. The time that had passed during the suspension of the "Spectator," though it had not lessened his power of humour, seems to have increased his disposition to seriousness: the proportion of his religious to his comick papers is greater than in the former series.

The "Spectator," from its recommencement, was published only three times a week; and no discriminative marks were added to the papers. To Addison Tickell has ascribed twenty-three.

20 The "Spectator" had many contributors; and Steele, whose negligence kept him always in a hurry, when it was his turn to furnish a paper, called loudly for the Letters, of which Addison, whose materials were more, made little use; having recourse to sketches and hints, the product of his former studies, which he now reviewed and completed: among these are named by Tickell the "Essays on Wit," those on the "Pleasures of the Imagination," and the "Criticism on Milton."

30 When the House of Hanover took possession of the throne, it was reasonable to expect that the zeal of Addison would be suitably rewarded. Before the arrival of king George, he was made secretary to the regency, and was required by his office to send notice to Hanover that the Queen was dead, and that the throne was vacant. To do this would not have been difficult to any man but Addison,

who was so overwhelmed with the greatness of the event, and so distracted by choice of expression, that the lords, who could not wait for the niceties of criticism, called Mr. Southwell, a clerk in the house, and ordered him to dispatch the message. Southwell readily told what was necessary, in the common style of business, and valued himself upon having done what was too hard for Addison.

He was better qualified for the "Freeholder," a paper which he published twice a week, from Dec. 23, 1715, to the middle of the next year. This was undertaken in 10 defence of the established government, sometimes with argument, sometimes with mirth. In argument he had many equals; but his humour was singular and matchless. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory-Fox-hunter.

There are however some strokes less elegant, and less decent; such as the "Pretender's Journal," in which one topick of ridicule is his poverty. This mode of abuse had been employed by Milton against king Charles II.

" — — — — — *Jacobæi*
Centum exulantis viscera marsupii regis."

20

And Oldmixon delights to tell of some alderman of London, that he had more money than the exiled princes; but that which might be expected from Milton's savageness, or Oldmixon's meanness, was not suitable to the delicacy of Addison.

Steele thought the humour of the "Freeholder" too nice and gentle for such noisy times; and is reported to have said that the ministry made use of a lute, when they should have called for a trumpet.

30

This year (1716) he married the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, perhaps with behaviour not very unlike that of Sir Roger to his disdainful widow; and who, I am

afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion. He is said to have first known her by becoming tutor to her son. "He formed," said Tonson, "the design of getting that lady, from the time when he was first recommended into the family." In what part of his life he obtained the recommendation, or how long, and in what manner he lived in the family, I know not. His advances at first were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased; till at last the lady was
10 persuaded to marry him, on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused, to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, "Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave." The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them nor made them equal. She always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of the "Despairing Shepherd" is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memo-
20 rable pair; and it is certain that Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love.

The year after (1717) he rose to his highest elevation, being made secretary of state. For this employment he might be justly supposed qualified by long practice of business, and by his regular ascent through other offices; but expectation is often disappointed; it is universally confessed that he was unequal to the duties of his place. In the house of commons he could not speak, and therefore was useless to the defence of the government. In the
30 office, says Pope, he could not issue an order without losing his time in quest of fine expressions. What he gained in rank, he lost in credit; and, finding by experience his own inability, was forced to solicit his dismissal, with a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. His friends palliated this relinquishment, of which both friends and

enemies knew the true reason, with an account of declining health, and the necessity of recess and quiet.

He now returned to his vocation, and began to plan literary occupations for his future life. He purposed a tragedy on the death of Socrates; a story of which, as Tickell remarks, the basis is narrow, and to which I know not how love could have been appended. There would however have been no want either of virtue in the sentiments, or elegance in the language.

He engaged in a nobler work, a defence of the *Christian Religion*, of which part was published after his death; and he designed to have made a new poetical version of the Psalms.

These pious compositions Pope imputed to a selfish motive, upon the credit, as he owns, of Tonson; who having quarrelled with Addison, and not loving him, said, that, when he laid down the secretary's office, he intended to take orders, and obtain a bishoprick; *for*, said he, *I always thought him a priest in his heart.*

That Pope should have thought this conjecture of Tonson worth remembrance is a proof, but indeed so far as I have found, the only proof, that he retained some malignity from their ancient rivalry. Tonson pretended but to guess it; no other mortal ever suspected it; and Pope might have reflected, that a man who had been secretary of state, in the ministry of Sunderland, knew a nearer way to a bishoprick than by defending Religion, or translating the Psalms.

It is related that he had once a design to make an English Dictionary, and that he considered Dr. Tillotson as the writer of highest authority. There was formerly sent to me by Mr. Locker, clerk of the Leathersellers Company, who was eminent for curiosity and literature, a collection of examples selected from Tillotson's works, as Locker said, by Addison. It came too late to be of use, so I in-

spected it but slightly, and remember it indistinctly. I thought the passages too short.

Addison however did not conclude his life in peaceful studies; but relapsed, when he was near his end, to a political dispute.

It so happened that (1718-19) a controversy was agitated, with great vehemence, between those friends of long continuance, Addison and Steele. It may be asked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cause could set
10 them at variance. The subject of their dispute was of great importance. The earl of Sunderland proposed an act called the "Peerage Bill," by which the number of peers should be fixed, and the king restrained from any new creation of nobility, unless when an old family should be extinct. To this the lords would naturally agree; and the king who was yet little acquainted with his own prerogative, and, as is now well known, almost indifferent to the possessions of the Crown, had been persuaded to consent. The only difficulty was found among the com-
20 mons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual exclusion of themselves and their posterity. The bill therefore was eagerly opposed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whose speech was published.

The lords might think their dignity diminished by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of Tories in the last reign; an act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means to be compared with that contempt of national right, with which some time
30 afterwards, by the instigation of Whiggism, the commons, chosen by the people for three years, chose themselves for seven. But, whatever might be the disposition of the lords, the people had no wish to increase their power. The tendency of the bill, as Steele observed in a letter to the earl of Oxford, was to introduce an Aristocracy; for a

majority in the house of lords, so limited, would have been despotick and irresistible.

To prevent this subversion of the ancient establishment, Steele, whose pen readily seconded his political passions, endeavoured to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called "The Plebeian;" to this an answer was published by Addison, under the title of "The Old Whig," in which it is not discovered that Steele was then known to be the advocate for the commons. Steele replied by a second "Plebeian;" and, whether by ignorance or by courtesy, con- 10
fined himself to his question, without any personal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed against the laws of friendship, or proprieties of decency; but controvertists cannot long retain their kindness for each other. The "Old Whig" answered the "Plebeian," and could not forbear some contempt of "little Dicky, whose trade it was to write pamphlets." Dicky however did not lose his settled veneration for his friend; but contented himself with quoting some lines of "Cato," which were at once detection and reproof. The bill was laid aside during that 20
session, and Addison died before the next, in which its commitment was rejected by two hundred sixty-five to one hundred sixty-seven.

Every reader surely must regret that these two illustrious friends, after so many years past in confidence and endearment, in unity of interest, conformity of opinion, and fellowship of study, should finally part in acrimonious opposition. Such a controversy was *Bellum plusquam civile*, as Lucan expresses it. Why could not faction find other advocates? But, among the uncertainties of the 30
human state, we are doomed to number the instability of friendship.

Of this dispute I have little knowledge but from the "Biographia Britannica." The "Old Whig" is not inserted in Addison's works, nor is it mentioned by Tickell

in his "Life;" why it was omitted the biographers doubtless give the true reason; the fact was too recent, and those who had been heated in the contention were not yet cool.

The necessity of complying with times, and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography. History may be formed from permanent monuments and records; but Lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost
10 for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and when it might be told, it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct, are soon obliterated; and it is surely better that caprice, obstinacy, frolick, and folly, however they might delight in the description, should be silently forgotten, than that, by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection, a pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend. As the process of these narratives is now bringing
20 me among my contemporaries, I begin to feel myself *walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished*, and coming to the time of which it will be proper rather to say *nothing that is false, than all that is true*.

The end of this useful life was now approaching.—Addison had for some time been oppressed by shortness of breath, which was now aggravated by a dropsy; and, finding his danger pressing, he prepared to die conformably to his own precepts and professions.

During this lingering decay, he sent, as Pope relates, a
30 message by the earl of Warwick to Mr. Gay, desiring to see him: Gay, who had not visited him for some time before, obeyed the summons, and found himself received with great kindness. The purpose for which the interview had been solicited was then discovered: Addison told him, that he had injured him; but that, if he recovered, he

would recompense him. What the injury was he did not explain, nor did Gay ever know; but supposed that some preferment designed for him, had, by Addison's intervention, been withheld.

Lord Warwick was a young man of very irregular life, and perhaps of loose opinions. Addison, for whom he did not want respect, had very diligently endeavoured to reclaim him; but his arguments and expostulations had no effect. One experiment, however, remained to be tried: when he found his life near its end, he directed the young lord to be called; and when he desired, with great tenderness, to hear his last injunctions, told him, *I have sent for you that you may see how a Christian can die*. What effect this awful scene had on the earl I know not; he likewise died himself in a short time.

In Tickell's excellent Elegy on his friend are these lines:

"He taught us how to live; and, oh! too high
The price of knowledge, taught us how to die."

In which he alludes, as he told Dr. Young, to this moving interview.

20

Having given directions to Mr. Tickell for the publication of his works, and dedicated them on his death-bed to his friend Mr. Craggs, he died June 17, 1719, at Holland-house, leaving no child but a daughter.

Of his virtue it is a sufficient testimony, that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime. He was not one of those who are praised only after death; for his merit was so generally acknowledged, that Swift, having observed that his election passed without a contest, adds, that if he had proposed himself for king, he would hardly have been refused.

His zeal for his party did not extinguish his kindness for the merit of his opponents: when he was secretary in Ireland, he refused to intermit his acquaintance with Swift.

Of his habits, or external manners, nothing is so often mentioned as that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name. Steele mentions with great tenderness "that remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit;" and tells us, that "his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed." Chesterfield affirms, that "Addison was the most timorous and
10 awkward man that he ever saw." And Addison, speaking of his own deficiency in conversation, used to say of himself, that, with respect to intellectual wealth, "he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket."

That he wanted current coin for ready payment, and by that want was often obstructed and distressed; that he was oppressed by an improper and ungraceful timidity, every testimony concurs to prove; but Chesterfield's representation is doubtless hyperbolic. That man cannot be
20 supposed very unexpert in the arts of conversation and practice of life, who, without fortune or alliance, by his usefulness and dexterity, became secretary of state; and who died at forty-seven, after having not only stood long in the highest rank of wit and literature, but filled one of the most important offices of state.

The time in which he lived, had reason to lament his obstinacy of silence; for "he was," says Steele, "above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent
30 with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed." This is the fondness of a friend; let us hear what is told us by a rival.

"Addison's conversation," says Pope, "had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence."

This modesty was by no means inconsistent with a very high opinion of his own merit. He demanded to be the first name in modern wit; and, with Steele to echo him, used to depreciate Dryden, whom Pope and Congreve defended against them. There is no reason to doubt that ¹⁰ he suffered too much pain from the prevalence of Pope's poetical reputation; nor is it without strong reason suspected, that by some disingenuous acts he endeavoured to obstruct it; Pope was not the only man whom he insidiously injured, though the only man of whom he could be afraid.

His own powers were such as might have satisfied him with conscious excellence. Of very extensive learning he has indeed given no proofs. He seems to have had small acquaintance with the sciences, and to have read little ²⁰ except Latin and French; but of the Latin poets his "Dialogues on Medals" shew that he had perused the works with great diligence and skill. The abundance of his own mind left him little need of adventitious sentiments; his wit always could suggest what the occasion demanded. He had read with critical eyes the important volume of human life, and knew the heart of man from the depths of stratagem to the surface of affectation.

What he knew he could easily communicate. "This," says Steele, "was particular in this writer, that, when he ³⁰ had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated."

Pope, who can be less suspected of favouring his memory, declares that he wrote very fluently, but was slow and scrupulous in correcting; that many of his "Spectators" were written very fast, and sent immediately to the press; and that it seemed to be for his advantage not to have time for much revisal.

"He would alter," says Pope, "any thing to please his friends, before publication; but would not retouch his pieces afterwards: and I believe not one word in 'Cato,'
 10 to which I made an objection, was suffered to stand."

The last line of "Cato" is Pope's, having been originally written

"And, oh! 'twas this that ended Cato's life."

Pope might have made more objections to the six concluding lines. In the first couplet the words *from hence* are improper; and the second line is taken from Dryden's "Virgil." Of the next couplet, the first verse being included in the second, is therefore useless; and in the third *Discord* is made to produce *Strife*.

20 Of the course of Addison's familiar day, before his marriage, Pope has given a detail. He had in the house with him Budgell, and perhaps Philips. His chief companions were Steele, Budgell, Philips, Carey, Davenant, and colonel Brett. With one or other of these he always breakfasted. He studied all morning; then dined at a tavern, and went afterwards to Button's.

Button had been a servant in the countess of Warwick's family, who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south side of Russel-street, about two doors
 30 from Covent-garden. Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble. It is said, that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the countess, he withdrew the company from Button's house.

From the coffee-house he went again to a tavern, where

he often sat late, and drank too much wine. In the bottle, discontent seeks for comfort, cowardice for courage, and bashfulness for confidence. It is not unlikely that Addison was first seduced to excess by the manumission which he obtained from the servile timidity of his sober hours. He that feels oppression from the presence of those to whom he knows himself superior, will desire to set loose his powers of conversation; and who, that ever asked succour from Bacchus, was able to preserve himself from being enslaved by his auxiliary?

10

Among those friends it was that Addison displayed the elegance of his colloquial accomplishments, which may easily be supposed such as Pope represents them. The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was a parson in a tye-wig, can detract little from his character; he was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville.

From any minute knowledge of his familiar manners, the intervention of sixty years has now debarred us. Steele 20 once promised Congreve and the publick a complete description of his character; but the promises of authors are like the vows of lovers. Steele thought no more on his design, or thought on it with anxiety that at last disgusted him, and left his friend in the hands of Tickell.

One slight lineament of his character Swift has preserved. It was his practice when he found any man invincibly wrong, to flatter his opinions by acquiescence, and sink him yet deeper in absurdity. This artifice of mischief was admired by Stella; and Swift seems to approve her 30 admiration.

His works will supply some information. It appears from his various pictures of the world, that, with all his bashfulness, he had conversed with many distinct classes of men, had surveyed their ways with very diligent obser-

vation, and marked with great acuteness the effects of different modes of life. He was a man in whose presence nothing reprehensible was out of danger; quick in discerning whatever was wrong or ridiculous, and not unwilling to expose it. *There are, says Steele, in his writings many oblique strokes upon some of the wittiest men of the age.* His delight was more to excite merriment than detestation, and he detects follies rather than crimes.

If any judgement be made, from his books, of his moral
10 character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence.

Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will shew, that to write, and to live, are very different. Many who praise virtue, do no more than praise it. Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's professions and practice were at no great variance, since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies: of those
20 with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem, but the kindness; and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence.

It is justly observed by Tickell, that he employed wit on the side of virtue and religion. He not only made the proper use of wit himself, but taught it to others; and from his time it has been generally subservient to the cause of reason and of truth. He has dissipated the prejudice that had long connected gaiety with vice, and easi-
30 ness of manners with laxity of principles. He has restored virtue to its dignity, and taught innocence not to be ashamed. This is an elevation of literary character, *above all Greek, above all Roman fame.* No greater felicity can genius attain than that of having purified intellectual pleasure, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from

licentiousness ; of having taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness ; and, if I may use expressions yet more awful, of having *turned many to righteousness*.

Addison, in his life, and for some time afterwards, was considered by the greater part of readers as supremely excelling both in poetry and criticism. Part of his reputation may be probably ascribed to the advancement of his fortune : when, as Swift observes, he became a statesman, and saw poets waiting at his levee, it is no wonder that 10 praise was accumulated upon him. Much likewise may be more honourably ascribed to his personal character : he who, if he had claimed it, might have obtained the diadem, was not likely to be denied the laurel.

But time quickly puts an end to artificial and accidental fame ; and Addison is to pass through futurity protected only by his genius. Every name which kindness or interest once raised too high, is in danger, lest the next age should, by the vengeance of criticism, sink it in the same proportion. A great writer has lately styled him *an* 20 *indifferent poet, and a worse critick*.

His poetry is first to be considered ; of which it must be confessed that it has not often those felicities of diction which give lustre to sentiments, or that vigour of sentiment that animates diction : there is little of ardour, vehemence, or transport ; there is very rarely the awfulness of grandeur, and not very often the splendour of elegance. He thinks justly ; but he thinks faintly. This is his general character ; to which, doubtless, many single passages will furnish exceptions. 30

Yet, if he seldom reaches supreme excellence, he rarely sinks into dulness, and is still more rarely entangled in absurdity. He did not trust his powers enough to be negligent. There is in most of his compositions a calm-

ness and equability, deliberate and cautious, sometimes with little that delights, but seldom with any thing that offends.

Of this kind seem to be his Poems to Dryden, to Somers, and to the King. His "Ode on St. Cecilia" has been imitated by Pope, and has something in it of Dryden's vigour. Of his "Account of the English Poets," he used to speak as a *poor thing*; but it is not worse than his usual strain. He has said, not very judiciously, in his
10 character of Waller:

"Thy verse could shew ev'n Cromwell's innocence,
And compliment the storms that bore him hence.
O! had thy Muse not come an age too soon,
But seen great Nassau on the British throne,
How had his triumph glitter'd in thy page!—"

What is this but to say that he who could compliment Cromwell had been the proper poet for king William? Addison however never printed the piece.

The "Letter from Italy" has been always praised, but
25 has never been praised beyond its merit. It is more correct, with less appearance of labour, and more elegant, with less ambition of ornament, than any other of his poems. There is however one broken metaphor, of which notice may properly be taken:

"Fir'd with that name—
I bridle in my struggling Muse with pain,
That longs to launch into a nobler strain."

To *bridle a goddess* is no very delicate idea; but why must she be *bridled*? because she *longs to launch*; an act which
30 was never hindered by a *bridle*; and whither will she *launch*? into a *nobler strain*. She is in the first line a *horse*, in the second a *boat*; and the care of the poet is to keep his *horse* or his *boat* from *singing*.

The next composition is the far-famed "Campaign," which Dr. Warton has termed a *Gazette in Rhyme*, with

harshness not often used by the good-nature of his criticism. Before a censure so severe is admitted, let us consider that War is a frequent subject of Poetry, and then enquire who has described it with more justness and force. Many of our own writers tried their powers upon this year of victory, yet Addison's is confessedly the best performance; his poem is the work of a man not blinded by the dust of learning: his images are not borrowed merely from books. The superiority which he confers upon his hero is not personal prowess, and *mighty bone*, but deliberate intrepidity, a calm command of his passions, and the power of consulting his own mind in the midst of danger. The rejection and contempt of fiction is rational and manly.

It may be observed that the last line is imitated by Pope:

"Marlb'rough's exploits appear divinely bright—
Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those that paint them truest, praise them most."

This Pope had in his thoughts; but, not knowing how to use what was not his own, he spoiled the thought when he had borrowed it:

"The well-sung woes shall soothe my ghost;
He best can paint them who shall feel them most."

Martial exploits may be *painted*; perhaps *woes* may be *painted*; but they are surely not *painted* by being *well-sung*: it is not easy to paint in song, or to sing in colours.

No passage in the "Campaign" has been more often mentioned than the simile of the Angel, which is said in "The Tatler" to be *one of the noblest thoughts that ever entered into the heart of man*, and is therefore worthy of attentive consideration. Let it be first enquired whether it be a simile. A poetical simile is the discovery of likeness between two actions, in their general nature dissimilar, or of causes terminating by different operations in some re-

semblance of effect. But the mention of another like consequence from a like cause, or of a like performance by a like agency, is not a simile, but an exemplification. It is not a simile to say that the Thames waters fields, as the Po waters fields; or that as Hecla vomits flames in Iceland, so Ætna vomits flames in Sicily. When Horace says of Pindar, that he pours his violence and rapidity of verse, as a river swoln with rain rushes from the mountain; or of himself, that his genius wanders in quest of poetical
10 decorations, as the bee wanders to collect honey; he, in either case, produces a simile; the mind is impressed with the resemblance of things generally unlike, as unlike as intellect and body. But if Pindar had been described as writing with the copiousness and grandeur of Homer, or Horace had told that he reviewed and finished his own poetry with the same care as Isocrates polished his orations, instead of similitude he would have exhibited almost identity; he would have given the same portraits with different names. In the poem now examined, when the English are
20 represented as gaining a fortified pass, by repetition of attack and perseverance of resolution; their obstinacy of courage, and vigour of onset, is well illustrated by the sea that breaks, with incessant battery, the dikes of Holland. This is a simile: but when Addison, having celebrated the beauty of Marlborough's person, tells us that *Achilles thus was formed with every grace*, here is no simile, but a mere exemplification. A simile may be compared to lines converging at a point, and is more excellent as the lines approach from greater distance: an exemplification may be
30 considered as two parallel lines which run on together without approximation, never far separated, and never joined.

Marlborough is so like the angel in the poem, that the action of both is almost the same, and performed by both in the same manner. Marlborough *teaches the battle to*

rage ; the angel directs the storm : Marlborough is unmoved in peaceful thought ; the angel is calm and serene : Marlborough stands unmoved amidst the shock of hosts ; the angel rides calm in the whirlwind. The lines on Marlborough are just and noble ; but the simile gives almost the same images a second time.

But perhaps this thought, though hardly a simile, was remote from vulgar conceptions, and required great labour of research, or dexterity of application. Of this, Dr. Madden, a name which Ireland ought to honour, once 10 gave me his opinion. *If I had set, said he, ten school-boys to write on the battle of Blenheim, and eight had brought me the Angel, I should not have been surprised.*

The opera of "Rosamond," though it is seldom mentioned, is one of the first of Addison's compositions. The subject is well-chosen, the fiction is pleasing, and the praise of Marlborough, for which the scene gives an opportunity, is, what perhaps every human excellence must be, the product of good-luck improved by genius. The thoughts are sometimes great, and sometimes tender ; the versification 20 is easy and gay. There is doubtless some advantage in the shortness of the lines, which there is little temptation to load with expletive epithets. The dialogue seems commonly better than the songs. The two comick characters of Sir Trusty and Grideline, though of no great value, are yet such as the poet intended. Sir Trusty's account of the death of Rosamond is, I think, too grossly absurd. The whole drama is airy and elegant ; engaging in its process, and pleasing in its conclusion. If Addison had cultivated the lighter parts of poetry, he would probably have 30 excelled.

The tragedy of "Cato," which, contrary to the rule observed in selecting the works of other poets, has by the weight of its character forced its way into the late collection, is unquestionably the noblest production of Addison's

genius. Of a work so much read, it is difficult to say any thing new. About things on which the public thinks long, it commonly attains to think right; and of "Cato" it has been not unjustly determined, that it is rather a poem in dialogue than a drama, rather a succession of just sentiments in elegant language, than a representation of natural affections, or of any state probable or possible in human life. Nothing here *excites or asswages emotion*; here is *no magical power of raising phantastick terror or wild anxiety*.

10 The events are expected without solicitude, and are remembered without joy or sorrow. Of the agents we have no care: we consider not what they are doing, or what they are suffering; we wish only to know what they have to say. Cato is a being above our solicitude; a man of whom the gods take care, and whom we leave to their care with heedless confidence. To the rest, neither gods nor men can have much attention; for there is not one amongst them that strongly attracts either affection or esteem. But they are made the vehicles of such sentiments and such expres-
20 sion, that there is scarcely a scene in the play which the reader does not wish to impress on his memory.

When "Cato" was shewn to Pope, he advised the author to print it, without any theatrical exhibition; supposing that it would be read more favourably than heard. Addison declared himself of the same opinion; but urged the importunity of his friends for its appearance on the stage. The emulation of parties made it successful beyond expectation, and its success has introduced or confirmed among us the use of dialogue too declamatory, of unaffecting
30 elegance, and chill philosophy.

The universality of applause, however it might quell the censure of common mortals, had no other effect than to harden Dennis in fixed dislike; but his dislike was not merely capricious. He found and shewed many faults: he shewed them indeed with anger, but he found them

with acuteness, such as ought to rescue his criticism from oblivion ; though, at last, it will have no other life than it derives from the work which it endeavours to oppress.

Why he pays no regard to the opinion of the audience, he gives his reason, by remarking, that

“ A deference is to be paid to a general applause, when it appears that that applause is natural and spontaneous ; but that little regard is to be had to it, when it is affected and artificial. Of all the tragedies which in his memory 10 have had vast and violent runs, not one has been excellent, few have been tolerable, most have been scandalous. When a poet writes a tragedy, who knows he has judgement, and who feels he has genius, that poet presumes upon his own merit, and scorns to make a cabal. That people come coolly to the representation of such a tragedy, without any violent expectation, or delusive imagination, or invincible prepossession ; that such an audience is liable to receive the impressions which the poem shall naturally make in them, and to judge by their own reason, and their own 20 judgements, and that reason and judgement are calm and serene, not formed by nature to make proselytes, and to controul and lord it over the imaginations of others. But that when an author writes a tragedy, who knows he has neither genius nor judgement, he has recourse to the making a party, and he endeavours to make up in industry what is wanting in talent, and to supply by poetical craft the absence of poetical art : that such an author is humbly contented to raise men’s passions by a plot without doors, since he despairs of doing it by that which he brings upon 30 the stage. That party and passion, and prepossession, are clamorous and tumultuous things, and so much the more clamorous and tumultuous by how much the more erroneous : that they domineer and tyrannize over the imaginations of persons who want judgement, and sometimes

too of those who have it ; and, like a fierce and outrageous torrent, bear down all opposition before them."

He then condemns the neglect of poetical justice ; which is always one of his favourite principles.

" 'Tis certainly the duty of every tragick poet, by the exact distribution of poetical justice, to imitate the Divine Dispensation, and to inculcate a particular Providence. 'Tis true, indeed, upon the stage of the world, the wicked sometimes prosper, and the guiltless suffer. But that is
10 permitted by the Governour of the world, to shew, from the attribute of his infinite justice, that there is a compensation in futurity, to prove the immortality of the human soul, and the certainty of future rewards and punishments. But the poetical persons in tragedy exist no longer than the reading, or the representation ; the whole extent of their entity is circumscribed by those ; and therefore, during that reading or representation, according to their merits or demerits, they must be punished or rewarded. If this is not done, there is no impartial distribution of
20 poetical justice, no instructive lecture of a particular Providence, and no imitation of the Divine Dispensation. And yet the author of this tragedy does not only run counter to this, in the fate of his principal character ; but every where, throughout it, makes virtue suffer, and vice triumph : for not only Cato is vanquished by Cæsar, but the treachery and perfidiousness of Syphax prevails over the honest simplicity and the credulity of Juba ; and the sly subtlety and dissimulation of Portius over the generous frankness and open-heartedness of Marcus."

30 Whatever pleasure there may be in seeing crimes punished and virtue rewarded, yet, since wickedness often prospers in real life, the poet is certainly at liberty to give it prosperity on the stage. For if poetry has an imitation of reality, how are its laws broken by exhibiting the world in its true form ? The stage may sometimes gratify our

wishes; but, if it be truly the *mirror of life*, it ought to shew us sometimes what we are to expect.

Dennis objects to the characters that they are not natural, or reasonable; but as heroes and heroines are not beings that are seen every day, it is hard to find upon what principles their conduct shall be tried. It is, however, not useless to consider what he says of the manner in which Cato receives the account of his son's death.

“Nor is the grief of Cato, in the fourth act, one jot more in nature than that of his son and Lucia in the third. Cato receives the news of his son's death not only with dry eyes but with a sort of satisfaction; and in the same page sheds tears for the calamity of his country, and does the same thing in the next page upon the bare apprehension of the danger of his friends. Now, since the love of one's country is the love of one's countrymen, as I have shewn upon another occasion, I desire to ask these questions: Of all our countrymen, which do we love most, those whom we know, or those whom we know not? And of those whom we know, which do we cherish most, our friends or our enemies? And of our friends, which are the dearest to us? those who are related to us, or those who are not? And of all our relations, for which have we most tenderness, for those who are near to us, or for those who are remote? And of our near relations, which are the nearest, and consequently the dearest to us, our offspring or others? Our offspring, most certainly; as nature, or in other words Providence, has wisely contrived for the preservation of mankind. Now, does it not follow, from what has been said, that for a man to receive the news of his son's death with dry eyes, and to weep at the same time for the calamities of his country, is a wretched affectation, and a miserable inconsistency? Is not that, in plain English, to receive with dry eyes the news of the deaths of those for whose sake our country is a name so dear to us, and at the same time to

shed tears for those for whose sakes our country is not a name so dear to us ? ”

But this formidable assailant is least resistible when he attacks the probability of the action, and the reasonableness of the plan. Every critical reader must remark, that Addison has, with a scrupulosity almost unexampled on the English stage, confined himself in time to a single day, and in place to rigorous unity. The scene never changes, and the whole action of the play passes in the great hall of
10 Cato's house at Utica. Much therefore is done in the hall, for which any other place had been more fit ; and this impropriety affords Dennis many hints of merriment, and opportunities of triumph. The passage is long ; but as such disquisitions are not common, and the objections are skilfully formed and vigorously urged, those who delight in critical controversy will not think it tedious.

“ Upon the departure of Portius, Sempronius makes but one soliloquy, and immediately in comes Syphax, and then the two politicians are at it immediately. They lay their
20 heads together, with their snuff-boxes in their hands, as Mr. Bayes has it, and feague it away. But, in the midst of that wise scene, Syphax seems to give a seasonable caution to Sempronius :

“ ‘ *Syph.* But is it true, Sempronius, that your senate
Is call'd together ? Gods ! thou must be cautious,
Cato has piercing eyes.’ ”

There is a great deal of caution shewn indeed, in meeting in a governor's own hall to carry on their plot against him. Whatever opinion they have of his eyes, I suppose they had
30 none of his ears, or they would never have talked at this foolish rate so near :

“ ‘ Gods ! thou must be cautious.’ ”

Oh ! yes, very cautious : for if Cato should overhear you,

and turn you off for politicians, Cæsar would never take you ; no, Cæsar would never take you.

“ When Cato, Act II., turns the senators out of the hall, upon pretence of acquainting Juba with the result of their debates, he appears to me to do a thing which is neither reasonable nor civil. Juba might certainly have better been made acquainted with the result of that debate in some private apartment of the palace. But the poet was driven upon this absurdity to make way for another ; and that is, to give Juba an opportunity to demand Marcia of 10 her father. But the quarrel and rage of Juba and Syphax, in the same Act, the invective of Syphax against the Romans and Cato ; the advice that he gives Juba, in her father’s hall, to bear away Marcia by force ; and his brutal and clamorous rage upon his refusal, and at a time when Cato was scarce out of sight, and perhaps not out of hearing ; at least, some of his guards or domesticks must necessarily be supposed to be within hearing ; is a thing that is so far from being probable, that it is hardly possible. 20

“ Sempronius, in the second Act, comes back once more in the same morning to the governor’s hall, to carry on the conspiracy with Syphax against the governor, his country, and his family ; which is so stupid, that it is below the wisdom of the O—’s, the Mac’s, and the Teague’s ; even Eustace Commins himself would never have gone to Justice-hall, to have conspired against the government. If officers at Portsmouth should lay their heads together, in order to the carrying off J— G—’s niece or daughter, would they meet in J— G—’s hall, to carry on that con- 30 spiracy ? There would be no necessity for their meeting there, at least till they came to the execution of their plot, because there would be other places to meet in. There would be no probability that they should meet there, because there would be places more private and more com-

modious. Now there ought to be nothing in a tragical action but what is necessary or probable.

"But treason is not the only thing that is carried on in this hall: that and love, and philosophy, take their turns in it, without any manner of necessity or probability occasioned by the action, as duly and as regularly, without interrupting one another, as if there were a triple league between them, and a mutual agreement that each should give place to and make way for the other, in a due and
10 orderly succession.

"We now come to the third Act. Sempronius, in this Act, comes into the governor's hall, with the leaders of the mutiny: but as soon as Cato is gone, Sempronius, who but just before had acted like an unparalleled knave, discovers himself, like an egregious fool, to be an accomplice in the conspiracy.

"*Semp.* Know, villains, when such paltry slaves presume
To mix in treason, if the plot succeeds,
They're thrown neglected by: but if it fails,
20 They're sure to die like dogs, as you shall do.
Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
To sudden death.—'

"'Tis true, indeed, the second leader says, there are none there but friends: but is that possible at such a juncture? Can a parcel of rogues attempt to assassinate the governor of a town of war, in his own house, in mid-day, and after they are discovered and defeated, can there be none near them but friends? Is it not plain from these words of Sempronius,

30 " 'Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
To sudden death.—'

and from the entrance of the guards upon the word of command, that those guards were within ear-shot? Behold Sempronius then palpably discovered. How comes it

to pass, then, that, instead of being hanged up with the rest, he remains secure in the governor's hall, and there carries on his conspiracy against the government, the third time in the same day, with his old comrade Syphax? who enters at the same time that the guards are carrying away the leaders, big with the news of the defeat of Sempronius; though where he had his intelligence so soon is difficult to imagine. And now the reader may expect a very extraordinary scene: there is not abundance of spirit indeed, nor a great deal of passion, but there is wisdom 10 more than enough to supply all defects.

“ ‘*Syph.* Our first design, my friend, has prov'd abortive ;
Still there remains an after-game to play :
My troops are mounted, their Numidian steeds
Snuff up the winds, and long to scour the desert :
Let but Sempronius lead us in our flight,
We'll force the gate, where Marcus keeps his guard,
And hew down all that would oppose our passage ;
A day will bring us into Cæsar's camp.

Semp. Confusion ! I have fail'd of half my purpose ; 20
Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind.'

“ Well ! but though he tells us the half-purpose that he has fail'd of, he does not tell us the half that he has carried. But what does he mean by

“ ‘ Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind ?’

He is now in her own house ; and we have neither seen her nor heard of her any where else since the play began. But now let us hear Syphax :

“ ‘ What hinders then, but that thou find her out,
And hurry her away by manly force ?’

30

But what does old Syphax mean by finding her out ? They talk as if she were as hard to be found as a hare in a frosty morning.

“ ‘ *Semp.* But how to gain admission ?

"Oh! she is found out then, it seems.

" 'But how to gain admission? for access
Is giv'n to none, but Juba and her brothers.'

But, raillery apart, why access to Juba? For he was owned and received as a lover neither by the father nor by the daughter. Well! but let that pass. Syphax puts Sempronius out of pain immediately; and, being a Numidian, abounding in wiles, supplies him with a stratagem for admission, that, I believe, is a non-pareille:

10 "' *Syph.* Thou shalt have Juba's dress, and Juba's guards;
The doors will open, when Numidia's prince
Seems to appear before them.'

"Sempronius is, it seems, to pass for Juba in full day at Cato's house, where they were both so very well known, by having Juba's dress and his guards: as if one of the marshals of France could pass for the duke of Bavaria, at noon-day, at Versailles, by having his dress and liveries. But how does Syphax pretend to help Sempronius to young Juba's dress? Does he serve him in a double
20 capacity, as general and master of his wardrobe? But why Juba's guards? For the devil of any guards has Juba appeared with yet. Well! though this is a mighty politick invention, yet, methinks, they might have done without it: for, since the advice that Syphax gave to Sempronius was,

" 'To hurry her away by manly force,'

in my opinion, the shortest and likeliest way of coming at the lady was by demolishing, instead of putting on an impertinent disguise to circumvent two or three slaves. But
30 Sempronius, it seems, is of another opinion. He extols to the skies the invention of old Syphax:

" ' *Sempr.* Heavens! what a thought was there!'

"Now I appeal to the reader, if I have not been as good

as my word. Did I not tell him, that I would lay before him a very wise scene?

“But now let us lay before the reader that part of the scenery of the Fourth Act, which may shew the absurdities which the author has run into, through the indiscreet observance of the Unity of Place. I do not remember that Aristotle has said any thing expressly concerning the Unity of Place. 'Tis true, implicitly he has said enough in the rules which he has laid down for the Chorus. For, by making the Chorus an essential part of Tragedy, and 10 by bringing it on the stage immediately after the opening of the scene, and retaining it there till the very catastrophe, he has so determined and fixed the place of action, that it was impossible for an author on the Grecian stage to break through that unity. I am of opinion, that if a modern tragic poet can preserve the unity of place, without destroying the probability of the incidents, 'tis always best for him to do it; because, by the preservation of that unity, as we have taken notice above, he adds grace, and cleanliness, and comeliness, to the representation. But since 20 there are no express rules about it, and we are under no compulsion to keep it, since we have no Chorus as the Grecian poet had; if it cannot be preserved, without rendering the greater part of the incidents unreasonable and absurd, and perhaps sometimes monstrous, 'tis certainly better to break it.

“Now comes bully Sempronius, comically accoutred and equipped with his Numidian dress and his Numidian guards. Let the reader attend to him with all his ears; for the words of the wise are precious: 30

“*Sempr.* The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert.’

“Now I would fain know why this deer is said to be lodged, since we have not heard one word, since the play began, of her being at all out of harbour: and if we con-

sider the discourse with which she and Lucia begin the Act, we have reason to believe that they had hardly been talking of such matters in the street. However, to pleasure Sempronius, let us suppose, for once, that the deer is lodged :

“ ‘ The deer is lodg’d, I’ve track’d her to her covert.’

“ If he had seen her in the open field, what occasion had he to track her, when he had so many Numidian dogs at his heels, which, with one halloo, he might have set upon
 10 her haunches? If he did not see her in the open field, how could he possibly track her? If he had seen her in the street, why did he not set upon her in the street, since through the street she must be carried at last? Now here, instead of having his thoughts upon his business, and upon the present danger; instead of meditating and contriving how he shall pass with his mistress through the southern gate, where her brother Marcus is upon the guard, and where she would certainly prove an impediment to him, which is the Roman word for the *baggage*; instead of doing
 20 this, Sempronius is entertaining himself with whimsies :

“ ‘ *Sempr.* How will the young Numidian rave to see His mistress lost ! If aught could glad my soul,
 Beyond th’ enjoyment of so bright a prize,
 ’Twould be to torture that young gay Barbarian.
 But hark ! what noise ? Death to my hopes, ’tis he,
 ’Tis Juba’s self ! There is but one way left !
 He must be murder’d, and a passage cut
 Through those his guards.’

“ Pray, what are *those his guards* ? I thought at present,
 30 that Juba’s guards had been Sempronius’s tools, and had been dangling after his heels.

“ But now let us sum up all these absurdities together. Sempronius goes at noon-day, in Juba’s clothes, and with Juba’s guards, to Cato’s palace, in order to pass for Juba, in a place where they were both so very well known : he

meets Juba there, and resolves to murder him with his own guards. Upon the guards appearing a little bashful, he threatens them :

“ ‘ Hah ! Dastards, do you tremble !
Or act like men, or by yon azure heav’n ! ’

“ But the guards still remaining restive, Sempronius himself attacks Juba, while each of the guards is representing Mr. Spectator’s sign of the Gaper, awed, it seems, and terrified by Sempronius’s threats. Juba kills Sempronius, and takes his own army prisoners, and carries them in triumph away to Cato. Now I would fain know, if any part of Mr. Bayes’s tragedy is so full of absurdity as this ?

“ Upon hearing the clash of swords, Lucia and Marcia come in. The question is, why no men come in upon hearing the noise of swords in the governor’s hall ? Where was the governor himself ? Where were his guards ? Where were his servants ? Such an attempt as this, so near the person of a governor of a place of war, was enough to alarm the whole garrison : and yet, for almost half an hour after Sempronius was killed, we find none of those appear, who were the likeliest in the world to be alarmed ; and the noise of swords is made to draw only two poor women thither, who were most certain to run away from it. Upon Lucia and Marcia’s coming in, Lucia appears in all the symptoms of an hysterical gentlewoman :

“ ‘ *Luc.* Sure ’twas the clash of swords ! my troubled heart
Is so cast down, and sunk amidst its sorrows,
It throbs with fear, and akes at every sound ! ’

“ And immediately her old whimsy returns upon her : 30

“ ‘ O Marcia, should thy brothers, for my sake—
I die away with horror at the thought.’

“ She fancies that there can be no cutting-of-throats, but it must be for her. If this is tragical, I would fain know

what is comical. Well! upon this they spy the body of Sempronius; and Marcia, deluded by the habit, it seems, takes him for Juba; for, says she,

“ ‘The face is muffled up within the garment.’

“Now how a man could fight, and fall with his face muffled up in his garment, is, I think, a little hard to conceive! Besides, Juba, before he killed him, knew him to be Sempronius. It was not by his garment that he knew this; it was by his face then: his face therefore was not
10 muffled. Upon seeing this man with the muffled face, Marcia falls a-raving; and, owning her passion for the supposed defunct, begins to make his funeral oration. Upon which Juba enters listening, I suppose on tip-toe: for I cannot imagine how any one can enter listening, in any other posture. I would fain know how it came to pass, that during all this time he had sent nobody, no not so much as a candle-snuffer, to take away the dead body of Sempronius. Well! but let us regard him listening. Having left his apprehension behind him, he, at first,
20 applies what Marcia says to Sempronius. But finding at last, with much ado, that he himself is the happy man, he quits his eve-dropping, and discovers himself just time enough to prevent his being cuckolded by a dead man, of whom the moment before he had appeared so jealous; and greedily intercepts the bliss, which was fondly designed for one who could not be the better for it. But here I must ask a question: how comes Juba to listen here, who had not listened before throughout the play? Or, how comes he to be the only person of this tragedy who listens, when
30 love and treason were so often talked in so publick a place as a hall? I am afraid the author was driven upon all these absurdities only to introduce this miserable mistake of Marcia; which, after all, is much below the dignity of tragedy, as any thing is which is the effect or result of trick.

“But let us come to the scenery of the Fifth Act. Cato appears first upon the scene, sitting in a thoughtful posture; in his hand Plato’s treatise on the ‘Immortality of the Soul,’ a drawn sword on the table by him. Now let us consider the place in which this sight is presented to us. The place, forsooth, is a long hall. Let us suppose, that any one should place himself in this posture, in the midst of one of our halls in London; that he should appear *solus*, in a sudden posture, a drawn sword on the table by him; in his hand Plato’s treatise on the ‘Immortality of the 10 Soul,’ translated lately by Bernard Lintot: I desire the reader to consider, whether such a person as this would pass with them who beheld him, for a great patriot, a great philosopher, or a general, or for some whimsical person who fancied himself all these; and whether the people, who belonged to the family, would think that such a person had a design upon their midriffs or his own?

“In short, that Cato should sit long enough, in the aforesaid posture, in the midst of this large hall, to read over Plato’s treatise on the ‘Immortality of the Soul,’ which is a 20 lecture of two long hours; that he should propose to himself to be private there upon that occasion; that he should be angry with his son for intruding there; then, that he should leave this hall upon the pretence of sleep, give himself the mortal wound in his bedchamber, and then be brought back into that hall to expire, purely to shew his good-breeding, and save his friends the trouble of coming up to his bedchamber; all this appears to me to be improbable, incredible, impossible.”

Such is the censure of Dennis. There is, as Dryden ex- 30 presses it, perhaps *too much horseplay in his raillery*; but if his jests are coarse, his arguments are strong. Yet as we love better to be pleased than to be taught, “Cato” is read, and the critick is neglected.

Flushed with consciousness of these detections of absur-

dity in the conduct, he afterwards attacked the sentiments of "Cato;" but he then amused himself with petty cavils, and minute objections.

Of Addison's smaller poems, no particular mention is necessary; they have little that can employ or require a critick. The parallel of the Princes and Gods, in his verses to Kneller, is often happy, but is too well known to be quoted.

His translations, so far as I have compared them, want
10 the exactness of a scholar. That he understood his authors cannot be doubted; but his versions will not teach others to understand them, being too licentiously paraphrastical. They are however, for the most part, smooth and easy; and, what is the first excellence of a translator, such as may be read with pleasure by those who do not know the originals.

His poetry is polished and pure; the product of a mind too judicious to commit faults, but not sufficiently vigorous to attain excellence. He has sometimes a striking line, or
20 a shining paragraph; but in the whole he is warm rather than fervid, and shews more dexterity than strength. He was however one of our earliest examples of correctness.

The versification which he had learned from Dryden, he debased rather than refined. His rhymes are often dissonant; in his Georgick he admits broken lines. He uses both triplets and alexandrines, but triplets more frequently in his translations than his other works. The mere structure of verses seems never to have engaged much of his care. But his lines are very smooth in "Rosamond," and
30 too smooth in "Cato."

Addison is now to be considered as a critick; a name which the present generation is scarcely willing to allow him. His criticism is condemned as tentative or experimental, rather than scientifick, and he is considered as deciding by taste rather than by principles.

It is not uncommon for those who have grown wise by the labour of others, to add a little of their own, and overlook their masters. Addison is now despised by some who perhaps would never have seen his defects, but by the lights which he afforded them. That he always wrote as he would think it necessary to write now, cannot be affirmed; his instructions were such as the character of his readers made proper. That general knowledge which now circulates in common talk, was in his time rarely to be found. Men not professing learning were not ashamed of ignorance; 10 and in the female world, any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured. His purpose was to infuse literary curiosity, by gentle and unsuspected conveyance, into the gay, the idle, and the wealthy; he therefore presented knowledge in the most alluring form, not lofty and austere, but accessible and familiar. When he shewed them their defects, he shewed them likewise that they might be easily supplied. His attempt succeeded; enquiry was awakened, and comprehension expanded. An emulation of intellectual elegance was excited, and from 20 his time to our own, life has been gradually exalted, and conversation purified and enlarged.

Dryden had, not many years before, scattered criticism over his Prefaces with very little parcimony; but, though he sometimes condescended to be somewhat familiar, his manner was in general too scholastick for those who had yet their rudiments to learn, and found it not easy to understand their master. His observations were framed rather for those that were learning to write, than for those that read only to talk.

30

An instructor like Addison was now wanting, whose remarks being superficial, might be easily understood, and being just, might prepare the mind for more attainments. Had he presented "Paradise Lost" to the publick with all the pomp of system and severity of science, the criticism

would perhaps have been admired, and the poem still have been neglected; but by the blandishments of gentleness and facility, he has made Milton an universal favourite, with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased.

He descended now and then to lower disquisitions; and by a serious display of the beauties of "Chevy Chase," exposed himself to the ridicule of Wagstaff, who bestowed a like pompous character on "Tom Thumb;" and to the
10 contempt of Dennis, who, considering the fundamental position of his criticism, that "Chevy Chase" pleases, and ought to please, because it is natural, observes, "that there is a way of deviating from nature, by bombast or tumour, which soars above nature, and enlarges images beyond their real bulk; by affectation, which forsakes nature in quest of something unsuitable; and by imbecillity, which degrades nature by faintness and diminution, by obscuring its appearances, and weakening its effects." In "Chevy Chase" there is not much of either bombast or affectation;
20 but there is chill and lifeless imbecillity. The story cannot possibly be told in a manner that shall make less impression on the mind.

Before the profound observers of the present race repose too securely on the consciousness of their superiority to Addison, let them consider his "Remarks on Ovid," in which may be found specimens of criticism sufficiently subtle and refined; let them peruse likewise his Essays on "Wit," and on the "Pleasures of Imagination," in which he founds art on the base of nature, and draws the prin-
30 ciples of invention from dispositions inherent in the mind of man, with skill and elegance, such as his contemners will not easily attain.

As a describer of life and manners, he must be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank. His humour, which, as Steele observes, is peculiar to himself, is so

happily diffused as to give the grace of novelty to domestick scenes and daily occurrences. He never *outsteps the modesty of nature*, nor raises merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by distortion, nor amaze by aggravation. He copies life with so much fidelity, that he can be hardly said to invent; yet his exhibitions have an air so much original, that it is difficult to suppose them not merely the product of imagination.

As a teacher of wisdom, he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthusiastick or superstitious: 10 he appears neither weakly credulous nor wantonly sceptical; his morality is neither dangerously lax, nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy, and all the cogency of argument, are employed to recommend to the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the Author of his being. Truth is shewn sometimes as the phantom of a vision, sometimes appears half-veiled in an allegory; sometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy, and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason. She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing. 20

“Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.”

His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not groveling; pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendour.

It was apparently his principal endeavour to avoid all 30 harshness and severity of diction; he is therefore sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatical, it might have

lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. What he attempted, he performed ; he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetick ; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity : his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.

NOTES.

p. 1, 1. 2, **Milston**, a parish in Wilts, two and a half miles north-east of Amesbury—a village of about one hundred inhabitants.

1. 2, **Lancelot Addison** (1682-1708). An Oxford man, a royalist and high churchman in sympathies; became chaplain at Dunkirk after the Restoration, and in 1662 chaplain to the English governor of Tangier. He wrote several works on Tangier and Barbary. He came to England in 1670, and married Jane, sister of Dr. Gulston, afterwards Bishop of Bristol. In 1671 he became rector of Milston, and soon after received a prebendal stall at Salisbury. He published a work on Mohamed and the Mohamedan religion in 1678; became Dean of Lichfield in 1688, and Archdeacon of Coventry next year. He was a strong opponent of the Whig latitudinarian policy of William III., and probably missed a bishopric on that account. His best known work is a defence of his order, known as "A Modest Plea for the Clergy." Steele gives a very pleasant account of the family life of Dean Addison in his Letter to Congreve, prefixed by way of dedication to the "Drummer"; and another, without mentioning the name, in the "Tatler" (No. 285).

1. 3, **Ambrosbury**, now called Amesbury. It is a town of about 1,200 inhabitants, situated some seven miles from Salisbury.

1. 10, **Not to name the school or the masters**. Johnson had been a schoolmaster. He was an usher at Market Bosworth in 1782, and he set up a "private academy" at Edial, near Lichfield, in 1786. See Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, i. 49, 61-66.

1. 18, **Dr. Peter Shaw** (died 1768) was a well-known physician, and a writer on chemistry and physics. See Chalmers' "General Biographical Dictionary."

1. 21, **Andrew Corbet**, a schoolfellow of Johnson's, who was afterwards at Pembroke College, Oxford, about the same time as Johnson. According to Sir J. Hawkins, Johnson went to Oxford as private tutor to Corbet, but this account is improbable. See Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, i. 80-81.

p. 2, l. 11, the **Chartreux**, Chartreuse or Charterhouse (the last form being due to a piece of folk-etymology), a famous school and charitable institution. The remains of the chief house of the Carthusian order in London, founded in 1371 by the famous knight Sir Walter Manny, were bought by Thomas Sutton, a London merchant, in 1611, and richly endowed as an asylum for "poor brethren," and as a grammar school. The school was removed to Godalming in 1872; the ancient hospital and chapel are still occupied by the poor brethren, who must be bachelors and over fifty years of age; while the site of the old school buildings is taken up by the new Merchant Taylors' school. The Charterhouse lies in the angle between Goswell Road and Clerkenwell Road, and can be reached in a few minutes from Aldersgate Station. Among famous Carthusians we may mention, besides Addison and Steele—Barrow, Blackstone, John Wesley, and Thackeray. The works of the last named are full of allusions to the school and asylum. There is a pleasant account of the foundation of the Charterhouse in the "English Illustrated Magazine" for 1886. For full details see Dr. Haig Brown's "Charterhouse Past and Present."

l. 12, the founder's benefaction. That is, he was not nominated to one of the scholarships, of which there were originally forty. The boys on the foundation received board, lodging, clothes, and tuition free.

l. 16, **Dr. Ellis**. This name "does not appear in the complete lists of the masters, schoolmasters, and ushers of the Charterhouse, given in Dr. Brown's 'Charterhouse Past and Present'" (Mrs. Napier's note, Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, i. 90).

l. 17, **intimacy with Sir Richard Steele**. Steele was three years younger than Addison, and came to the Charterhouse in 1684. Steele visited Addison's family at Lichfield, and seems to have been a favourite with the Dean (see his Letter to Congreve, in his edition of the "Drummer," Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 151).

l. 88, **borrowed a hundred pounds of his friend**. This unpleasant story, which exhibits the precise, careful, and somewhat anæmic Addison at his worst, was told to Johnson by Savage, and to Savage Steele himself had related it "with tears in his eyes." Johnson had also heard the same story from another, and equally authentic, source. But this second version (that of Benjamin Victor the dramatist) makes the amount £1,000 instead of £100. Macaulay makes a defence for Addison by supplying imaginary details and hypothetical motives ("Essays," p. 721). But as Dr. Johnson said, if Addison had "only wanted to alarm Steele he would afterwards have returned the money to his friend, which it is not pretended that

he did" (Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, iv. 16). Cf. Austin Dobson's "Steele," pp. 220, 221; G. A. Aitken's "Steele," i. 342-44. Mr. Aitken could find no reference in the records of the law courts to any action for debt brought by Addison against Steele.

p. 3, l. 5, **Queen's College in Oxford.** This had been his father's college. The Dr. Lancaster mentioned a line or two further down was at that time a fellow of Queen's. He was Vice-Chancellor 1706-1710, and died in 1717.

l. 9, **Demy**, a half-fellow. "He took the degree of M.A., Feb. 14, 1693" (Johnson's note). He was elected probationary fellow in 1697, and fellow in 1698. He resigned his fellowship in 1711. He took pupils at the University.

In the grounds of Magdalen there is a promenade by the Cherwell still called "Addison's Walk."

l. 16, **which are indeed entitled to particular praise.** Johnson's favourable opinion of Addison's Latin poems is endorsed by Macaulay, "Essays," p. 712.

l. 22, "**Musæ Anglicanæ**," or more fully "Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta." The first volume contains nothing by Addison. The second (1699) is edited by Addison and contains his Latin poems. Most of them, however, had previously appeared in the "Examen Poeticum Duplex," 1698.

l. 24, **Poem on the Peace.** "Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europæ reddita, 1697" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 233).

l. 26, **Boileau.** Nicholas Boileau (1636-1711), poet and critic. He was the type and champion of the French "correct" school of writers. He wrote "L'Art poétique," 1674; "Lutrin," 1674-1681; numerous epistles and odes, and several critical works.

Addison met him in Paris in 1700. Writing to Bishop Hough from Lyons in the December of that year Addison says: "Among other learned men I had the honour to be introduced to Mr. Boileau, who is now retouching his works and putting them out in a new impression. He is old and a little deaf, but talks incomparably well in his own calling. He heartily hates an ill poet, and throws himself into a passion when he talks of anyone that has not a high respect for Homer and Virgil." The letter, which is too long to quote entire, contains interesting details of the conversation (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 332).

Addison calls Boileau "the most correct poet among the moderns" ("Spectator," No. 183), and ranks him with Dacier as "a true critic" ("Spectator," No. 592).

l. 27, **says Tickell.** "Our country owes it to him that the famous Monsieur Boileau first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry, by perusing the present he made him of the 'Musæ Anglicanæ.' . . . The true and natural com-

pliment made by him was, that those books had given him a very new idea of the English politeness, and that he did not question but there were excellent compositions in the national language of a country that possessed the Roman genius in so eminent a degree" (Tickell's Preface to Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. iii).

Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, 1710, a *protégé* and friend of Addison, whose attention he gained by his verses on "Rosamond," (see Bohn's "Addison," i. 55) in Tonson's "Sixth Miscellany," which contained Pope's earliest publication (1709). He wrote several short poems, and a few papers in the "Spectator" and "Guardian." Addison was accustomed to speak in very exaggerated terms of Tickell's efforts, whom he praised to the detriment of Pope (cf. e.g. "Spectator," No. 523, *ad init.*). This translation of Book I. of the "Iliad" was pronounced superior to Pope's by Addison, who, however, was believed by Steele, as well as Pope, to have written it himself. For the details of the quarrel which arose, see p. 94, below. When Addison became Secretary of State in 1717, he made Tickell his Under Secretary. He appointed him his literary executor, and Tickell edited his collected works in four vols. in 1721. This edition is preceded by a preface which is our authority for many details in Addison's life. See Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, ii. 298.

l. 29, contempt of modern Latin. Macaulay disputes this ("Essays," p. 709).

l. 84, *Battle of the Pigmies and Cranes*. "Pygmæo-geranomachia sive Prælium inter Pygmæos et Grues commissum" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 289. Three translations, one by Warburton, are given in the same edition, vi. 558-572). "The mock-heroic style was sedulously cultivated in England throughout the eighteenth century," says Mr. Courthope,—"though he would have been more accurate if he had said, until after the middle of the century,—"Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Fielding developed it in various forms; but Addison's Latin poem is perhaps the first composition in which the fine fancy and invention, afterwards shown in the 'Rape of the Lock,' and 'Gulliver's Travels,' conspicuously showed itself" ("Addison," p. 89). Macaulay points out that Swift took, or might have taken, from this poem his admirable ironical touch about the commanding statue of the Emperor of Laputa, who was "taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders" ("Gulliver's Travels," part i. chap ii.).

l. 84, *The Barometer*. "Barometri Descriptio" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 287; translation by George Sewell, vi. 555).

A Bowling Green. "Sphæristerium" ("Works," Bohn, i. 246; translation by Nicholas Amhurst, vi. 576).

Amongst other Latin poems by Addison are the "Machinæ Gesticulantes, anglice A Puppet Show," and Odes to Dr. Hannes, M.D., and to Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charterhouse and author of "Telluris Theoria Sacra."

p. 4, l. 6, **his power of English Poetry**, i.e., his capacity for, his ability in, writing English verse.

l. 7, **Verses addressed to Dryden.** Written in 1698. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 1. The lines have little merit. He ventures to tell the veteran translator of Virgil, Persius, Juvenal, and Ovid, that:

"Thy copy casts a fairer light on all,
And still outshines the bright original."

l. 9, **fourth Georgick.** Bees are the subject of Virgil's fourth Georgic. The long episode, which occupies nearly half the poem and tells how Aristæus learnt the famous recipe for procuring a new stock of bees, is not translated by Addison. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 10.

l. 10, **Says Dryden.** See the Postscript to his translation of Virgil.

l. 13, **Essay on the Georgicks.** Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 154. Dr. Hurd takes a more favourable view than Johnson of this "agreeable essay." He points out that it was written in 1698, when Addison was only in his twenty-first year, "yet the style is so exact that it wants but little of being absolutely faultless." The subject-matter, however, is very thin.

l. 16, **a character of the principal English poets.** Addison's "Account of the Greatest English Poets, to Mr. H. S., April 3, 1694," was first published in Tonson's "Fourth Miscellany," edited by Dryden. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 22. It purports to be:

"A short account of all the muse-possess,
That down from Chaucer's days to Dryden's times
Have spent their noble rage in British rhymes."

He mentions Chaucer, Spenser, Cowley, Sprat, Milton, Waller, Roscommon, Denham, Congreve, and Montague. See p. 84, and note on p. 101.

l. 17, **Henry Sacheverell.** The poem is dedicated to "H. S.," and the initials are supposed to be those of Addison's college friend, afterwards so notorious as Dr. Sacheverell. He became fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and was elected in 1705 chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark. In 1709 he preached two sermons, one at the Derby Assizes, the other at St. Paul's

on Guy Fawkes' Day, before the Corporation. The sermons attacked the policy of the Revolution settlement and the Toleration Act, and reasserted the doctrine of passive obedience. Forty thousand copies were printed and circulated; and they were regarded as a Tory manifesto. The Whig government proceeded to the violent measure of an impeachment before the House of Lords (a Whig body), and Sacheverell was suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermons burned by the common hangman. The popular indignation over his trial helped to bring about the fall of the Whigs in 1710. In 1713 Sacheverell was selected to preach before the House of Commons, and he was presented by the Crown to the living of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the possession of which he died in 1724. The usual estimate of the character of Addison's "dearest Harry," derived by a long succession of historians from the prejudiced pages of Burnet, who speaks of him as a "bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense," is perhaps a little unfair.

Sacheverell's translation from Virgil's *Georgics* was included in Dryden's "Third Miscellany," published by Tonson, 1698.

It is just worth while to notice that a statement which was made to Johnson by a correspondent, but which rests on no tangible basis, identifies "H. S." with another Henry Sacheverell, said to have been a friend of Addison, to have written a history of the Isle of Man, and to have died young.

l. 25, confident and discriminative character of Spenser.
The character is confident enough, but hardly discriminative:

"Old Spenser next, warmed with poetic rage,
In ancient tales amused a barbarous age;
An age that yet uncultivate and rude,
Where'er the poet's fancy led, pursued
Through pathless fields or unfrequented floods,
To dens of dragons and enchanted woods.
But now the mystic tale, that pleased of yore,
Can charm an understanding age no more;
The long-spun allegories fulsome grow,
While the dull moral lies too plain below.
We view well pleased at distance all the sights
Of arms and palfreys, battles, fields and fights,
And damsels in distress and courteous knights;
But when we look too near, the shades decay,
And all the pleasing landscape fades away."

Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 23.

Pope tells us ("Spence's Anecdotes," Singer, 50, Camelot, p. 13) that Addison "used to speak of it [the "Character of the

English Poets"] as a poor thing. He wrote it when he was very young; and, as such, gave the character of some of our best poets in it only by hearsay. Thus his character of Chaucer is diametrically opposed to the truth; he blames him for want of humour. The character he gives of Spenser is false too; and I have heard him say that he never read Spenser till fifteen years after he wrote it."

Dryden and Pope were both hearty admirers of the two great fathers of English poetry. Johnson, although he once talked of writing the life of Spenser, never speaks of him with eulogy.

Addison has more appreciative references to Spenser in the "Spectator" (e.g., in Nos. 62 and 49); and Steele's essay (No. 540), although slight enough, is quite enthusiastic.

l. 29, **Congreve**. William Congreve (1670-1729), dramatist. He was born in Yorkshire, but educated in Ireland; he was the schoolfellow of Swift at Kilkenny, and was at Trinity College with him. His first comedy, "The Old Bachelor," was acted in 1693. It was followed by "The Double Dealer" (1694), "Love for Love" (1695), a tragedy, "The Mourning Bride" (1697), and another comedy, "The Way of the World" (1700). Besides these he wrote poems, of no great merit. He saved £10,000, and incurred the ridicule of the wits by leaving it to Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough in her own right, and wife of Lord Godolphin. See his life by Johnson, "Lives," Bohn, ii. 207.

l. 29, **Montague**. Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax (1661-1715). When young he wrote with Prior the "City Mouse and Country Mouse" (1687). Soon after he became an M.P., and obtained an office in the Treasury in 1691. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694. His financial ability was considerable. He originated the National Debt, founded the Bank of England,—originally, as Bagehot says, "a Whig finance company,"—instituted exchequer bills, and reformed the coinage. He became First Lord of the Treasury in 1697, and was created Lord Halifax in 1699. He was again at the head of the Treasury from the accession of George I. until his own death next year.

l. 83, according to Tickell. Preface to Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. v.

p. 5, l. 3, represented as an enemy to the Church. This was the usual accusation against the Whigs, who were anxious to conciliate the dissenters, while they dreaded the Tory sympathies of the clergy.

l. 6, poem to King William. "A Poem to his Majesty presented to the Lord Keeper." The Lord Keeper was Sir John Somers (1652-1716), the famous Whig lawyer and statesman.

Somers was one of the counsel for the seven bishops, and drew up the Declaration of Right. He became successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Lord Keeper, and in 1697 was made Lord Chancellor with a peerage. From 1708 to 1710 he was Lord President. He was particularly obnoxious to the Tories, and was several times unscrupulously attacked. The collected edition of the "Spectator" is dedicated to him; and there is a very eulogistic paper on him by Addison in the "Freeholder" (No. 39) (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 40).

l. 15, called by Smith. Edmund Neal, generally known as Smith (died 1710), is one of the almost forgotten writers whose lives occur in Johnson's biographies (Bohn, ii. 1). "Rag" was a clever ne'er-do-well; on one occasion, at least, his conscience stood in the way of his advancement. "One evening as he was sitting with a friend at a tavern, he was called down by the waiter; and, having staid some time below, came up thoughtful. After a pause, said he to his friend, 'He that wanted me below was Addison, whose business was to tell me that a History of the Revolution was intended, and to propose that I should undertake it. I said, "What shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?"' and Addison immediately returned, "When, Rag, were you drunk last?" and went away'" (Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, ii. 19).

"He was a man of such estimation among his companions, that the casual censures or praises which he dropped in conversation were considered, like those of Scaliger, worthy of preservation" (Johnson's "Lives," ii. 23).

Smith's eulogy of Addison's Latin verses occurs in the dedication to Lord Halifax of his "Phædra," that "consummate tragedy" as his friend and biographer Oldisworth called it.

l. 20, pension of three hundred pounds a year. This was a Crown pension, and ceased on the death of William III. in 1702. Addison actually received only one year's pay. Although this account of the pension is repeated by all the biographers, some doubt is thrown on it by the note in Bohn's edition of "Addison," vi. 686. Mr. Bohn found no official record of a pension of £300, but he found such record of a royal gift or grant of £200, dated June 1st, 1699.

l. 21, at Blois, where it was then sometimes said that French was spoken in its greatest purity. "Mr. Addison stayed above a year at Blois. He would rise as early as between two and three in the height of summer, and lie a-bed till between eleven and twelve in the depth of winter. He was untalkative whilst here, and often thoughtful; sometimes so lost in thought, that I have come into his room and stayed five minutes there before he has known anything of it. He had his masters [probably

teachers of French] generally at supper with him, kept very little company beside, and had no amour whilst here that I know of; and I think I should have known it if he had had any" (Abbé Philippeaux of Blois, in "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 184; Camelot, p. 5).

l. 27, **Dialogues on Medals.** Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 258.

l. 28, **Cato.** Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 172. See pp. 14, 37, above.

l. 29, **relation of Tickell.** Preface to Addison's "Works," i. vi, ix.

l. 31, **Letter to Lord Halifax.** "A Letter from Italy to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax in the year 1701" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 29). See p. 84, above. This poem was written or sketched while crossing the Alps to Geneva. Bohn, v. 886. The first draft, however, is dated, "From Italy, Feb. 19th, 1702," presumably New Style.

p. 6, l. 1, **distressed by indigence.** Apparently he had only his fellowship, but "Addison's finances are a mystery" (L. Stephen). Swift's contemptuous allusion to Addison's becoming "travelling tutor to a squire" is not accurate. But at Rotterdam Addison met Tonson, the bookseller and publisher, for whom he had done work, and Tonson recommended Addison as tutor for Lord Hertford, son of the Duke of Somerset. The duke offered to pay all expenses, and give him one hundred guineas a year. This seemed insufficient to Addison, and the negotiation fell through. Swift's lines run thus:

"Thus Addison by lords caress'd
Was left in foreign lands distress'd;
Forgot at home, became for hire
A travelling tutor to a squire,
But wisely left the Muses' hill,
To business shaped the poet's quill,
Let all his barren laurels fade,
Took up himself the courtier's trade,
And grown a minister of state,
Saw poets at his levee wait."

(Swift, "Libel on Dr. Delany.")

l. 8, **his Travels,** that is, the "Remarks on several Parts of Italy, 1701-2-3," published by Tonson in 1705. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 856.

l. 10, **twice before by Italian authors.** "I mentioned Addison's having borrowed many of his classical remarks from Leandro Alberti. Mr. Beauclerk said, 'It was alleged that he had

borrowed also from another Italian author.' JOHNSON: 'Why, Sir, all who go to look for what the classics have said of Italy must find the same passages; and I should think it would be one of the first things the Italians would do, on the revival of learning, to collect all that the Roman authors have said of their country' (Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, ii. 316).

1. 13, **the minute republic of St. Marino.** Still the smallest independent state in Europe, though acknowledging the King of Italy as protector. It is situated nine or ten miles from Rimini. It has a population of about 8,000.

1. 20, in 1702. Johnson's date is wrong, it was in the autumn of 1703.

1. 28, **Godolphin.** Sidney Godolphin, Earl Godolphin (1645-1712), was a moderate Tory financier and statesman, who held office under four sovereigns. During the latter part of the reign of Charles II. he was in office as the head of the Treasury, or in some other important position. He supported the Exclusion Bill, but retained office till the accession of James II., when he was dismissed. He was, however, soon recalled, and at the Revolution adhered to James until the proclamation of William and Mary, Feb. 1689, when he was made First Lord of the Treasury. He was out of office from 1696 to 1700. From 1702 to 1710 he was Lord High Treasurer and head of the ministry, many of his colleagues being Whigs. His financial ability was necessary during the heat of the great struggle with France. He married Marlborough's daughter and heiress Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough.

p. 7, l. 5, **Mr. Boyle.** Henry Boyle, Baron Carleton (died 1725), who was in 1705 Chancellor of the Exchequer, but became Secretary of State in 1707. He was noted for his "winning address."

1. 8, **simile of the angel.** See p. 35, above.

1. 9, **Mr. Locke.** John Locke, the philosopher (1632-1704), who held the post, which was almost a sinecure, from 1690 until his death. Tickell's remark, therefore, that the Commissionership was "vacant by the removal of the famous Mr. Locke to the Council of Trade" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. vii.) is an error. Locke had been made one of the seven Commissioners for Promoting the Trade of the Kingdom in 1696, and had resigned the appointment in 1700.

1. 11, **at Hanover.** The object of Lord Halifax's mission was to present the Elector with the order of the Garter, and carry over the Act for the naturalization of his mother.

1. 13, **Sir Charles Hedges** (died 1714), a moderate Tory politician, who was Secretary of State from 1700 to 1706.

1. 14, **the Earl of Sunderland.** Charles Spencer, Earl of

Sunderland (1674-1722). He was a strong Whig, and was personally disliked by Anne, but owing to the influence of Godolphin and Marlborough (Sunderland, like Godolphin, was married to a daughter of Marlborough) he became Secretary of State in 1706. He advised the unfortunate impeachment of Sacheverell which brought about the fall of the Godolphin ministry. He was a man of bad political character even in that unscrupulous age; in 1721 he narrowly escaped condemnation for bribery in connection with the South Sea Company.

1. 15, **taste for Italian Operas.** Addison looked on operas almost entirely from the literary point of view. His writings are full of contemptuous references to the dramatic and poetical worthlessness of the *libretti*, and the elaborate stage devices with which they were presented. See the "Spectator," Nos. 5, 13, 14, 18. The music to "Rinaldo," the first opera produced by Handel in England (Feb. 1711), meets with no word of praise, although it contains two or three of the most beautiful and best-loved songs of the master; while he lavishes contempt on the stage arrangements (the live sparrows, and so forth), and sneers with true insular ignorance at "Minheer Hendel" himself. ("Spectator," Nos. 5 and 14). He had not the tolerance of Lord Chesterfield, who says, "Whenever I go to the opera I leave my sense and reason at the door with my half-a-guinea, and deliver myself up to my eyes and ears" (Letter 259, Jan. 23, 1752). He and Steele accepted the view of Clayton, Haym, and Dieupart, who, in a letter in the "Spectator" (No. 258), which is half an æsthetic manifesto and half a concert-room advertisement, assert that music is "only valuable as it is agreeable to and heightens the purpose of poetry."

In 1705 an opera, "Arsinoë," in imitation of the Italian operas (that is, with dialogue in *recitativo*), had been produced with success. The music, written by Clayton, was bad, and the "book" or *libretto* worse. This was followed by "Camilla," half in English and half in Italian ("Spectator," No. 18). Addison determined to write an opera "book" which should have real literary merit; to do for grand opera what Mr. W. S. Gilbert has done in our own time for light opera.

The failure of his "Rosamond" probably helps to account for Addison's contempt for opera.

On these early operas see Ashton, "Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne," pp. 268 *seq.*

1. 18, **opera of Rosamond.** See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 57. Addison's libretto, according to L. Stephens ("Dict. Nat. Biog."), showed "some lyrical faculty and characteristic humour." It requires a very microscopic eye to discover the

former. The very best lyric is the following, from act iii. sc. 8:

"Floods of sorrow will I shed
To mourn the lovely shade!
My Rosamond, alas! is dead,
And where, oh, where conveyed!
So bright a bloom, so soft an air,
Did ever nymph disclose!
The lily was not half so fair,
Nor half so sweet the rose!"

(Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 78.)

Bishop Hurd wisely confines his praise to the humour: "The comic scenes of this opera are pleasant and entertaining."

Clayton wrote the music, and the opera was produced in April, 1706. It failed, although later on it had great success, when Dr. Arne reset it in 1788.

l. 21, **Duchess of Marlborough.** On the character of Sarah Jennings, afterwards Duchess of Marlborough, see Macaulay's "History," i. 453-4, and Pope's "Moral Essays" (Epist. ii 115-150). The scene of the opera is laid at Woodstock, the manor of which was granted to the Duke of Marlborough in 1705, to be held by "rendering to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, on the second day of August in every year for ever, at the Castle of Windsor, one standard or colours with three flower de luces painted thereupon." In act iii. sc. 1 two angels describe the future glories of "Anna's mighty chief," and the future magnificence of the palace of Blenheim, while the "scene changes to the plan of Blenheim Castle" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 75). This obtrusive flattery of Marlborough makes the dedication to his duchess natural enough.

l. 24, **Joshua Barnes' dedication of a Greek Anacreon to the Duke.** Joshua Barnes (1654-1712) was an industrious though somewhat eccentric scholar, and was made professor of Greek at Cambridge. His edition of "Anacreon" was published in 1705, it contained a list of forty-three works which he intended to write.

l. 26, **The Tender Husband.** Steele's comedy was produced at Drury Lane in April, 1705. For Addison's bright and effective prologue, spoken by Mr. Wilks, see Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 81.

l. 28, **with a confession.** Johnson is wrong here. The dedication does not contain a confession that Steele owed to Addison several of the most successful scenes, or that anything in the play was due to Addison.. Johnson's authority for the statement is obviously Tickell (himself in error), whose

words are: "Sir Richard Steele surprised him with a very handsome dedication of this play, and has since acquainted the public that he owed some of the most taking scenes of it to Mr. Addison" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. p. vii). It was not in the dedication, but in No. 555 of the "Spectator" (the last number of the first issue), that Steele tells the public that there were in the "Tender Husband" "so many applauded strokes in it which I had from the same hand, that I thought very meanly of myself that I had never publicly acknowledged them." Steele speaks of "many applauded strokes," which Tickell exaggerates into "some of the most taking scenes."

1. 80, the **Marquis of Wharton**. This was Thomas Wharton (1640-1714), a zealous and unscrupulous Whig politician. He was created an earl in 1706, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1708 to 1710, and was raised a step in the peerage in 1714. Cunningham's suggestion that Johnson confused this person with his son Philip, Duke of Wharton—*patre turpi filius turpior*—is quite uncalled for. Swift calls the father "the most universal villain that I ever knew," and Macaulay can offer no apology for him: "The falsest of mankind in all relations but one, he was the truest of Whigs. . . . The party to whose interests Wharton with such spirit and constancy devoted his time, his fortune, his talents, his very vices, judged him, as was natural, far too leniently. He was widely known by the very undeserved appellation of Honest Tom. Some pious men, Burnet, for example, and Addison, averted their eyes from the scandal which he gave, and spoke of him, not indeed with esteem, yet with goodwill" ("History," ii. 462-4). Vol. v. of the "Spectator" is dedicated to him.

1. 82, **Keeper of the records in Birmingham's Tower**. The salary was raised to £400 a year, and afterwards to £500, on Addison's second appointment to the office of chief secretary in 1715. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, vi. 682 and 687. "Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called keeper of the records in Birmingham's tower, and get a salary of £400 annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use" (Swift, "Drapier's Letters," No. 4). Birmingham's Tower stands within the precincts of Dublin Castle.

"The parliamentary career of Addison in Ireland has, we think, wholly escaped the notice of all his biographers. He was elected member for the borough of Cavan in 1709, and in the journals of two sessions his name frequently occurs. Some of the entries appear to indicate that he so far overcame his timidity as to make speeches" (Macaulay, "Essays," p. 722).

p. 8, l. 11, **Swift has recorded.** Letter from Swift to Dr. Sheridan (Scott's "Swift," xvi. 465, 2nd edit.).

l. 29, **remark on Virgil which Addison had given him.** See Tickell's Preface, i. viii. The remark was that about the dexterity with which Virgil avoids the appellations "Pius" and "Pater" when telling of Æneas' meeting with Dido in the cave ("Æn." iv.), which appears in No. 6, published April 23rd, 1709.

p. 9, l. 3, **Addison's contribution.** Addison's first contribution, according to Mr. Courthope, was No. 18 (on the expected peace with France), which appeared on April 20th. "It is noticeable that the article of foreign news which had been treated in previous 'Tatlers' with complete seriousness is here, for the first time, invested with an air of pleasantry" (Courthope, p. 99). I do not know Johnson's authority for giving the number of May 26th (No. 20) as Addison's first contribution; the internal evidence is strongly against him.

The first number of the "Tatler" appeared on April 12th (old style), not on April 22nd, as Dr. Johnson states. That Johnson is not using new style is proved, apart from other considerations, by his giving the old style date for the last number of the "Tatler."

Addison soon contributed a paper or two, and after No. 81 he wrote pretty frequently for the "Tatler." Out of the 271 numbers to which it ran, Addison contributed forty-two, according to Mr. Courthope. Other estimates give him as high as sixty-nine. L. Stephens assigns forty-one to Addison, and thirty-four to Addison and Steele together. As the papers are not signed, the evidence is mainly internal. For Addison's papers contributed to the "Tatler," see Bohn, vol. ii.

l. 11, **till the papers were collected into volumes.** The "Tatler" was frequently reprinted and sold in volumes in 1710 and onwards, but the names of the authors were not given.

l. 14, **the Spectator.** The last "Tatler," (No. 271) appeared on Jan. 2nd, 1711; the first "Spectator" on March 1st, 1711. It was published daily until Dec. 6th, 1712 (No. 555). It was resumed on June 18th, 1714, and was finally discontinued on Dec. 20th, 1714.

l. 19, **many auxiliaries.** Of the 555 "Spectators" in the first issue, Addison is credited with 274 and Steele with 286. Amongst other writers were Eustace Budgell, who is usually given thirty-seven (but Addison is said to have revised them); John Hughes about eleven, and Parnell about three. Pope, Ambrose Philips, Tickell, Eusden, Dr. Watts, and others, gave help—a single paper, a letter, a translation, etc. See Steele's acknowledgments in No. 555.

l. 24, in one of the first papers. Doubtless No. 3, in which is the allegory of Public Credit—a glorification of the Revolution and the financial measures of Lord Halifax.

l. 80, in praise of Marlborough. See Steele's paper, No. 139 of the "Spectator," *ad finem*. Vol. iv. of the collected edition is dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough.

l. 81, Dr. Fleetwood. Dr. William Fleetwood (1656-1723) was Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Ely. He published in 1712 a volume consisting of four Whig sermons on political subjects—the deaths of Queen Mary, King William, etc. This volume was ordered to be burnt by the Tory house of Commons. Steele published his Preface as No. 884 of the "Spectator," introducing it with a few words of commendation. "He has, like a good man and a good Christian, in opposition to all the flattery and base submission of false friends to princes, asserted that Christianity left us where it found us as to our civil rights." Fleetwood had a considerable reputation as a preacher, and was probably the Bishop of St. Asaph whose sermon was read one Sunday morning before Sir Roger de Coverley and the Spectator (see No. 106, with Mr. T. Arnold's note on it in a Clarendon Press volume of selections from Addison's contributions to the "Spectator"). Fleetwood was called the Silver-tongued, according to Doddridge; his four sermons were reprinted at Oxford as late as 1854.

l. 88, was reprinted in the "Spectator." This, as Steele told Burnet, "conveyed about fourteen thousand copies of the condemned preface into people's hands that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it." "Moreover, to ensure its delivery into the Queen's hands, the publication of this number is said to have been deferred till twelve o'clock, her Majesty's breakfast hour, that no time might be allowed for a decision that it should not be laid, as usual, upon her breakfast table" (Dr. H. Morley, note in his edition of "Spectator," p. 559).

p. 10, l. 4, Casa in his book of "Manners." The "Galateo" of Giovanni Casa, Bishop of Benevento, who died 1556. "This little treatise is not only accounted superior in style to most Italian prose, but serves to illustrate the manners of society in the middle of the sixteenth century. . . . But his own precepts relate to the essential principles of social intercourse, rather than to its conventional forms" (Hallam, "History of Literature," ii. 128-29).

It was published in 1560, and translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1576; and several further translations appeared in the eighteenth century.

l. 5, Castiglione in his "Courtier." "Il Cortegiano" of Baldassare Castiglione, published 1528. "We here find the

gracefulness of the language in this, perhaps, its best age, and the rules of polished life in an Italian court. These, indeed, are rather favourably represented, if we compare them with all we know of the state of manners from other sources; but it can be no reproach to the author that he raised the standard of honourable character above the level of practice. The precepts, however, are somewhat trivial, and the expression diffuse; faults not a little characteristic of his contemporaries" (Hallam, i. 402).

Count Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) was a courtier attached to the Duke of Urbino. He came to England on an embassy in the reign of Henry VII. This "Courtier" was translated into English by Thos. Hoby, and published in 1561, and further translations followed. Dr. Johnson, talking to Boswell, called it "the best book that ever was written upon good breeding," and added, "you should read it" ("Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," Bohn, p. 286).

l. 14, La Bruyère's "Manners of the Age." Jean de la Bruyère (1645-1696) published his famous "Caractères" in 1688.

l. 26, *arbitrarius elegantiarum*. "Mrs. Piozzi, in her marginal notes to the 'Lives of the Poets' (Murphy's ed., x. 81), says 'this phrase has been admired, adapted, and quoted ever since these lines came out. . . . It existed twenty years before in Dr. Harrington's Epitaph on Beau Nash in the Abbey Church at Bath'" (Mrs. Napier's note, "Lives of the Poets," ii. 102). The actual words in the Abbey epitaph are "*elegantiarum arbiter*."

p. 11, l. 4, "*Mercurius Aulicus*." This commenced in January, 1648, at Oxford, and was a royalist sheet. The "*Mercurius Rusticus*" was also royalist, and was opposed by a parliamentary journal of the same name edited by Wither. On these and other "*Mercuries*" see Fox Bourne, "English Newspapers," i. 11, 14.

l. 18, L'Estrange's "Observer." This was first published in April, 1681, but it had been preceded by L'Estrange's "Public Intelligencer," in August, 1668, "The Oxford Gazette," November, 1665, "The London Gazette" (which still survives as an official newspaper), February, 1666, the "City Mercury," November, 1675. See Fox Bourne, i. 32-48.

l. 14, Lesley's "Rehearsal." This was less important than some of the others, and is not noticed by Mr. Fox Bourne. Defoe's "Review," February, 1704, is one of the most interesting of the early newspapers; for details see Minto's "Defoe," chaps. iv.-v., and Fox Bourne, i. 62. And the other journal which led the way to the "Tatler" was the "Athenian Mercury," 1690.

l. 19, the Royal Society. The full title is the Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge. During

the Civil War several learned men, amongst them Dr. Wilkins and Dr. Wallis, used to meet for scientific discussion. Their society was organized in 1660, and obtained a charter in 1662. Amongst other early members were Pepys and Evelyn. Dr. Johnson's suggestion that the Royal Society was instituted "to divert the attention of the people from publick discontent" is taken from Steele's "Spectator" (No. 262).

p. 12, l. 5, **Steele in his last paper.** See "Tatler," No. 271.

l. 6, **Budgell in his preface to "Theophrastus."** Eustace Budgell (1686-1737), first cousin to Addison, accompanied the latter to Ireland as private secretary in 1709, held various posts in Ireland, which he lost in 1718. He lost most of his private fortune in the South Sea Bubble, and became a bankrupt. He assisted Tindal, the deist, in the production of "Christianity as Old as Creation," 1730. On Tindal's death, in 1733, Budgell was left most of his property; the will was upset, and the general opinion seems to have been that Budgell forged it.

"Let Budgell charge low Grub-street on my quill,
And write whate'er he please—except my will."

POPE.

He committed suicide in 1737, leaving on a slip of paper the words—

"What Cato did and Addison approv'd
Cannot be wrong."

He wrote a paper in the "Spectator" signed X—thirty-seven it is said altogether, although Mr. W. Wheeler only makes twenty-two in his "Digest Index."

His translation of "Theophrastus" appeared in 1713.

Spence tells us that "when Addison was first in town in lodgings Budgell lodged in the room over his. He walked much, and was troublesome to him. One night Addison was so tired of the noise that he invited him down to sup with him; and that began their acquaintance." And Pope says that "Addison used to speak slightingly of Budgell—'one that calls me cousin, [there was no doubt about the cousinship] the man that stamped himself into my acquaintance,'" etc. See "Spence," Singer, p. 161; Camelot, pp. 11, 200.

l. 18, **elegant fictions and refined allegories.** For a list of the stories see Wheeler's "Digest Index to the Spectator," pp. 156-178; for the allegories see p. 13.

l. 19, **illuminated, ornamented.**

l. 21, **by Budgell.** In the "Bee"—a sort of "Review of Reviews" of that day, i. 27.

l. 23, **discriminated idea, clearly defined idea.**

l. 26, picking up a girl in the Temple. See the "Spectator," No. 410. The paper, however, seems to have been written by Tickell, not by Steele, as Johnson asserts. It bears Steele's signature, T. "The sketch is not in his [Steele's] style, and was attributed by the earlier editors to Tickell, to whom it is now usually assigned" (A. Dobson, "Steele," p. 140).

l. 80, para mi sola nacio Don Quixote, y yo, para el, "For me alone Don Quixote was born, and I for him."

"In this case his resentment must have been somewhat tardily exhibited, for there was an interval of more than four months between the paper referred to and No. 517, which describes the knight's last hours and funeral. The other reason was that by this time Steele was contemplating the discontinuance of the 'Spectator'; and Addison foreseeing, as Budgell tells us, that 'some nimble gentleman would catch up his pen the moment he quitted it,' determined, as Cervantes did with Don Quixote, 'to kill Sir Roger that nobody else might murder him'" (A. Dobson, "Steele," p. 141).

p. 13, l. 8, the moneyed interest, the commercial or city party as opposed to the country gentlemen and farmers, who were Tories.

l. 26, would not build a hospital for idle people. See "Spectator," No. 232: "I ought to give to an hospital for invalids, to recover as many useful subjects as I can; but I shall bestow none of my bounties upon an almshouse for idle people; and for the same reason I should not think it a reproach to me if I had withheld my charity from the common beggars."

l. 28, hospital for twelve old husbandmen. See "Spectator," No. 549. Johnson had drawn attention to this point in conversation at Mr. Thrale's, 1778 (Boswell's "Life," Bohn, ii. 201).

l. 82, commodiously distributed. This refers to the daily publication of the numbers before the breakfast-hour.

p. 14, l. 1, in the last number. No. 555, the last number of the original "Spectator."

"An edition of the former volumes of 'Spectators,' of about nine thousand each book, is already sold off, and the tax on each half-sheet [each number took up half a sheet folio] has brought at the Stamp-office, one week with another, about £20 a week, arising from this single paper, notwithstanding it was at first reduced to less than half the number that was usually printed before this tax was laid." Compare Addison in the "Spectator," No. 10: "My publisher tells me that there are already three thousand of them distributed every day; so that if I allow twenty readers to

every paper, which I look upon as a modest computation, I may reckon about threescore thousand daily disciples, in London and Westminster." See Macaulay's "Essays," p. 729.

l. 6, if **Swift be credited**. See his "Journal to Stella," November 2nd, 1711: "The 'Spectators' are likewise printing in a larger and smaller volume, so I believe they are going to leave them off, and, indeed, people grow weary of them, though they are often prettily written."

l. 11, **grand climacteric**. Climacterical years were "such as were supposed to be attended by some great mutation of life or fortune; as the seventh year, the twenty-first (made up of three times seven), the twenty-seventh (made up of three times nine), and the eighty-first (made up of nine times nine): thus every seventh or ninth year is said to be climacterical." "Grand climacterics" are "the sixty-third and eighty-first years, wherein if any sickness happens it is accounted very dangerous" (Bailey's Dictionary). The belief still survives in an unsystematic form amongst the more ignorant members of the medical profession.

l. 16, by **Pope and by Cibber**. As a matter of fact Pope does not profess to have seen the play until it was completed ("Spence," ed. Camelot, p. 6). Cibber professes to have read the first four acts of "Cato" in 1703. See his "Apology," second edition, 1740, p. 377. Johnson, and other biographers of Addison, have overlooked that Swift tells Stella (April 1st, 1713) that "I saw it unfinished some years ago."

Tonson says that "Addison wrote the first four acts of 'Cato' abroad; at least, they were written when I met him accidentally on his return at Rotterdam." Dr. Young, the author of "Night Thoughts," says: "He wrote them all first at Oxford, and sent them from thence to Dryden, to my knowledge." But this assertion is quite unsupported and entirely improbable ("Spence," ed. Singer, p. 46; Camelot, p. 6).

Macaulay remarks that the play may have been suggested by the opera which Addison saw at Venice on the subject of Cato. The only point of resemblance we can identify from Addison's account is in the scene of the hero's death. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, p. 392 ("Remarks on Italy").

l. 22, **The time however was now come**. "At length, after many fits of apprehension, the poet yielded to the urgency of his political friends, who hoped that the public would discover some analogy between the followers of Cæsar and the Tories, between Sempronius and the apostate Whigs, between Cato struggling to the last for the liberties of Rome, and the band of patriots who still stood firm round Halifax and Wharton" (Macaulay, "Essays," p. 730).

1. 80, **Mr. Hughes.** John Hughes (1677-1720), an occasional contributor to the "Spectator," wrote some plays, of which the most successful was the "Siege of Damascus" (1720). Complimentary verses by him are prefixed to "Cato."

p. 15, l. 4, **Dennis.** John Dennis (1657-1734) was a foremost critic and man of letters in the early part of the eighteenth century. His poems and plays are unimportant. The memory of one tragedy, "Appius and Virginia," is preserved, because it supplied the name by which Pope satirized him in the "Essay on Criticism." One may fairly apply to Dennis what Warburton said of Gildon, "he signalized himself as a critic, having written some very bad plays." Pope and his friends often attacked him; but Dennis was in many ways an able man. As a critic he was not only acute, he was occasionally original and penetrative; he saw the inadequacy of the "correct" ideals of literature then popular. When he tells us, as he does in his "Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry" (1701), that "Poetry is poetry because it is more passionate and sensual than prose. A discourse that is writ in very good numbers, if it wants passion, can be but measured prose," we feel that Wordsworth and Shelley are in the air. His "Remarks on Cato," quoted at large by Johnson (pp. 39-51, above), is the only work known to the ordinary reader, and it hardly exhibits him at his best. He was a fierce and pugnacious man, with a natural gift for quarrelling, which had been adequately developed by the ceaseless literary and political warfare of his life. He crossed swords with Pope (who attacked him first), Addison, Rymer, Blackmore, and Jeremy Collier, as well as champions of lesser note. Amongst his other critical works are "The Impartial Critic, or Some Observations on Mr. Rymer's Short View of Tragedy" (1692), "Remarks on Prince Arthur" (1696), "The Usefulness of the Stage" (1698), "Grounds of Criticism in Poetry" (1704), "Reflections on an Essay upon Criticism" (1711). Dennis was educated at Harrow and Caius College, Cambridge. At the end of his life he fell on evil days, and suffered from poverty and blindness. Pope and his friends got up a theatrical performance for the old critic.

For his relations to Pope see Johnson's "Life." Cf. Pope's "Essay on Criticism," ll. 584-7; "Dunciad," bk. i. l. 106 (and note), iii. l. 173 (and note).

1. 6, **false positions**, erroneous theories or "views."

1. 7, in the "Spectator." See No. 548, "unacknowledged, but doubtless by Addison" (Morley). "I cannot think but that the instruction and moral are much finer, where a man who is virtuous in the main of his character falls into distress, and

sinks under the blows of fortune at the end of a tragedy, than when he is happy and triumphant. Such an example corrects the insolence of human nature, softens the mind of the beholder with sentiments of pity and compassion, comforts him under his own private affliction, and teaches him not to judge men's virtues by their successes" (see p. 40, above).

1. 9, **the fact is certain; the motives we must guess.** Does Johnson mean that it is a "fact" that Addison "poisoned the town," or that he attacked the "established rule of poetical justice" as accepted in the first half of the eighteenth century?

1. 18, **accommodated, fitted to.** For Pope's Prologue see Globe edition of Pope's "Works," p. 92.

1. 18, **liquidated, softened.** "Mr. Pope had written it *arise*, in the spirit of Poetry and Liberty; but Mr. Addison, frightened at so daring an expression, which he thought squinted at rebellion, would have it altered in the spirit of Prose and Politics to *attend*" (Warburton). The story does not give one an exalted idea of Addison's nerve.

1. 20, **heavily in clouds came on the day.** This is a quotation from "Cato." The opening words of act 1. sc. 1 run as follows:

"The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
The great, the important day, big with the fate
Of Cato and of Rome."

Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 172.

1. 24, **pack an audience, provide a favourable audience.** The play was produced at Drury Lane, April 14th, 1713. Steele says: "All the town knows how officious I was in bringing it ["Cato"] on; and you that know the town, the theatre, and mankind, very well can judge how necessary it was to take measures for making a performance of that sort, excellent as it is, run into popular applause. I promised before it was acted, and performed my duty accordingly to the author, that I would bring together so just an audience on the first days of it, that it should be impossible for the vulgar to put its success or due applause to any hazard" (Letter to Congreve, prefixed to the "Drummer," Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 152).

1. 25, **says Pope.** "An audience was laid for the 'Distrest Mother,' and when they found it would do, it was practised again, yet more successfully, for 'Cato;'" (Pope, in "Spence," Singer, p. 46; Camelot, p. 7).

The "Distrest Mother" was an adaptation by Ambrose Philips of Racine's "Andromaque," and was produced in 1712. It was diligently puffed in the "Spectator." In No. 290 we get a shameless "puff preliminary" in a letter from one of the

actors who had broken down at rehearsal, and feared that he should break down in public, as he found the tragedy so affecting. Sir Roger is taken to see it in No. 385. See also Nos. 223 and 229.

1. 33, **He called Booth to his box.** Booth (died 1788) took the part of Cato. (For the rest of the cast see p. 106, below.) He was of good family, but ran away from school, and became a pupil of the great actor Betterton. He became one of the joint patentees, with Cibber, of Drury Lane. On Booth's acting in the character of Pyrrhus, in the "Distrest Mother," see "Spectator," No. 384.

1. 35, **a perpetual dictator.** This had reference to Marlborough's attempt in 1710 to get himself made by patent Captain-General for life. See Macaulay, "Essays," p. 712. Craik, "Swift," p. 189. Johnson takes his version of the story almost verbatim from Pope's letter to Sir W. Trumbull, April 30th, 1718. The account given by Pope to Spence varies slightly. "Lord Bolingbroke's carrying his friends to the house, and presenting Booth with a purse of guineas for so well representing the character of a person 'who rather chose to die than see a general for life,' was an accidental piece of good luck, and which carried the success of the play much beyond what they ever expected" (Singer, p. 46; Camelot, p. 7).

p. 16. l. 4, **for a longer time.** The play ran twenty nights. This was considered a very long run in those days (see p. 105, below). It was at once printed, and four editions were sold in a fortnight, while four more were demanded before the end of the year.

1. 6, **Mrs. Porter afterwards related.** Mrs. Porter, an actress, the original Lucia in "Cato." "The numerous and violent claps of the Whig party on the one side of the theatre were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head" (Pope, letter to Trumbull, April 30th, 1718).

1. 12, **says Tickell.** See Tickell's Preface, Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. ix.

1. 16, **it was attacked by the acute malignity of Dennis.** Dennis's "Remarks on Cato" (1718) are largely quoted by Dr. Johnson. See pp. 38-51, above.

1. 24, **with the fate of the censurer of Corneille's "Cid."** Dennis had the same fate as Cardinal Richelieu when he attacked the "Cid." P. Corneille (1606-1684) had been patronized by Richelieu, but had offended the great and implacable minister. Richelieu ordered his clients (amongst them was Georges de Scudéry) to attack the successful tragedy, produced in

1636. The Academy, just founded by Richelieu—it received its charter in this very year, 1637—formally, though not severely, condemned the play. Compare Hallam's "History of Literature," iii. 365.

p. 17, l. 2, **informed Dennis by Steele**. By Addison's direction Steele wrote the following letter to Lintot, the bookseller: "Mr. Addison desired me to tell you that he wholly disapproves the manner of treating Mr. Dennis in a little pamphlet by way of Mr. Norris' account. When he thinks fit to take notice of Mr. Dennis's objections to his writings, he will do it in a way Mr. Dennis shall have no just reason to complain of. But when the papers above mentioned (*i.e.* Pope's pamphlet) were offered to be communicated to him, he said he could not, either in honour or conscience, be privy to such a treatment, and was sorry to hear of it." Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 405.

As Mr. Courthope remarks, the wording of the letter "certainly seems studiously offensive to Pope, who had, professedly at any rate, placed his pen at his service, and who had connected his own name with 'Cato' by the fine Prologue he had written in its praise" (p. 137).

l. 7, **are said by Pope**. "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 46; Camelot, p. 7.

l. 14, **the wits**. "The dominant figure in Pope's day was the wit. The wit—taken personally—was the man who represented what we now describe by culture or the spirit of the age. Bright, clear common sense was for once having its own way, and tyrannizing over faculties from which it too often suffers violence. . . . Wit and sense are but different avatars of the same spirit; wit was the form in which it showed itself in coffee-houses, and sense that in which it appeared in the pulpit or in parliament" (Leslie Stephen, "Pope," p. 28).

l. 15, **pay their attendance**, *i.e.*, give their proper service as attendants on their superior. The practice of prefixing eulogistic verses was common so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. "Cato" was introduced to the reading public by poems from the hands of Steele, Hughes, Young, Eusden, Tickell, Digby Cotes, and Ambrose Philips, as well as the lines, "Left with the printer by an unknown hand," which Dr. Johnson quite unaccountably regards as the best.

l. 17, **Jeffreys**. George Jeffreys (1678-1755), a very inferior poet, who wrote a couple of plays and some miscellaneous verse. He held a post in the Custom-house, and was a relation of the Duke of Chandos.

l. 19, **by a Scholar of Oxford**. The anonymous quarto pamphlet is entitled "Mr. Addison turn'd Tory, or the Scene

Inverted, wherein it is made to appear that the Whigs have misunderstood that celebrated Author in his Tragedy call'd *Cato*. By a Gentleman of Oxford" (1713), a very dreary piece of pleasantry. This author and Dennis both call attention to the resemblances between "*Cato*" and Otway's "*Orphan*."

l. 20, by **Dr. Sewel**. "*Observations upon Cato*" (1713), published by Curll. On a copy in the British Museum there is a MS., note by Curll himself, "Written by Dr. Sewell and of w^{ch} I sold 20 [? 200], E. C." [Edmund Curll].

Other pamphlets on the tragedy were published besides these. l. 21, translated by **Salvini**. This was the Abbot Antonio Maria Salvini (1654-1751), professor of Greek at Florence, who also translated Addison's "*Letter from Italy*" into Italian (Addison's "*Works*," Bohn, i. 28).

l. 22, by the **Jesuits of St. Omer into Latin**. This was for their pupils at the English seminary.

l. 25, with that of **Bland**. This version is given in the "*Spectator*" (No. 628). Dr. Bland became Provost of Eton and Dean of Durham.

l. 26, by **Des Champs**. François Michel Deschamps (1688-1747), "*Caton d'Utique*," 1715.

l. 31, the **policy of literature**, the true policy, the wise course, in literary matters. Dennis's pamphlet, however, ran into two or three editions in 1718.

p. 18, l. 1, "**The Guardian**." First number published March 12th, 1713; last number October 1st, 1713. There were 175 numbers in all. It was edited by Steele. Addison did not give much assistance till the beginning of June, when "*Cato*" was no longer a source of anxiety or interest. Out of the 175 papers, Addison contributed fifty-one, and Steele eighty-two.

l. 8, **The Guardian of the Lizards**. Nester Ironside, Esq., the imaginary writer of the paper, is guardian to a family bearing the name of Lizard. Very little is made of this device, and the references to Lady Lizard and her children are few and unimportant.

A club of little men is described in Nos. 91 and 92, and a club of tall men in No. 108. A description of observations on ants, translated from some French predecessor of Sir John Lubbock, occupies Nos. 156 and 157. Strada's "*Prolusiones Academicæ*," famous pieces which consist of brilliant imitations of the chief Roman poets, are the subject of Nos. 115, 119, and 122.

l. 15, **set Steele's politics on fire**. This apparently refers to an attack made on Lord Nottingham, a deserter from the Tories to the Whigs, by the "*Examiner*," edited for a time by Swift, but no longer under his control. Nottingham's daughter, Lady Charlotte Finch, was alluded to in somewhat uncomplimentary terms, as

"taking knotting in St. James's Chapel during Divine Service, in the immediate presence both of God and her Majesty, who were affronted together, that the family might appear to be entirely come over." This unworthy attack on a woman Steele warmly resented in the "Guardian" (No. 41), and the journalistic warfare led to a quarrel between Steele and Swift. If this be the incident referred to by Johnson, it occurred much too early to account for Steele's dropping the "Guardian."

A more probable cause was the excited paper on the demolition of Dunkirk in No. 128 of the "Guardian" (August 7th), of which the spirit may be guessed from the motto, "Delenda est Carthago." This outspoken paper, signed, on a plan not unknown to modern journalism, "English Tory," produced a number of attacks on Steele from the lower ranks of the Tory journalists, to whom he replied by reprinting the number with additions, under the title of "The Importance of Dunkirk considered." Pope, it should be added, attributed the stoppage of the "Guardian" to a quarrel with Tonson the publisher.

1. 17, the "**Englishman**." The first number was published on October 6th, 1713, five days after the sudden cessation of the "Guardian."

1. 22, as Steele with far greater likelihood insinuates. This is hardly a fair representation of what Steele says in his Letter to Congreve: "I cannot but take further notice, that the circumstance of marking his "Spectators," which I did not know till I had done with the work, I made my own act [in No. 555 of the "Spectator"]; because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend, and thought it, since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me than the author himself; the real state of which this zealot [Tickell, in his Preface to Addison's "Works"] rashly and injudiciously exposes. I ask the reader whether any thing but an earnestness to disparage me could provoke the editor [Tickell] in behalf of Mr. Addison to say, that he marked it, out of caution against me, when I had taken upon me to say, it was I that did it, out of tenderness to him."

1. 25, the air of renown, the "tenuis aura famæ" as opposed to the substantial money gain.

1. 82, author of the "**Drummer**." The "Drummer," a comedy, was produced at Drury Lane without success in March 10th, 1716. It ran only three nights. "I will put all my credit among men of wit for the truth of my averment when I presume to say that no one but Mr. Addison was in any other way the writer of the "Drummer"; at the same time I will allow, that he sent for me, which he could always do, from his

natural power over me, as much as he could send for any of his clerks when he was Secretary of State, and told me that a gentleman then in the room had written a play that he was sure I would like, but it was to be a secret, and he knew I would take as much pains, since he recommended it, as I would for him" (Steele, Letter to Congreve, in second edition of the "Drummer"). Steele, it must be remembered, was one of the joint patentees of Drury Lane Theatre, from January, 1715.

In the Preface to the first edition, published in 1716, before Addison's death, Steele speaks still more positively: "It had been some years in the hands of the author, and falling under my perusal, I thought so well of it that I persuaded him to make a few additions and alterations to it, and let it appear upon the stage" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 156). The biographers of Addison and Steele do not seem to have noticed, however, that this statement is absolutely at variance with that in the later Letter to Congreve. In 1716, Steele says he had seen the MS. in the hands of the author (*ex hypothesi*, Addison), and induced him to make certain alterations in it, and to allow it to appear. In 1722 he says Addison had given him the MS., and asked him to produce it.

l. 35, **a gentleman in the company.** It almost looks as if Johnson had misrepresented Steele's "gentleman then in the room" to mean one of the members of the theatrical company performing at Drury Lane.

p. 19, l. 7, **the copy,** technical name for the MS. It was sold to Tonson, who remonstrated with Steele when Tickell refused to print the comedy as Addison's. See Letter to Congreve, Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 142.

l. 16, **"The present State of the War."** See Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 840. It is a plea for continuing the war against France, and augmenting the British military forces.

l. 21, **The "Whig Examiner."** This was a counterblast to the "Examiner," which was written in the interest of the Tories. The first number appeared September 14th, 1710, the last in October 12th, 1710; there are only five numbers. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 870-895.

Johnson's outspoken praise of the "Whig Examiner" and the "Freeholder" is worth bearing in mind, in view of the charges of excessive bigotry made against him by writers who take all his half-jesting hyperbole seriously.

l. 82, **Trial of Count Tariff.** See Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 864-9. A treaty of commerce was agreed to at Utrecht, which was considered in this country as very unfavourable to England. A bill brought into the Commons to confirm it was rejected (June 18th, 1713). Smollett, "History" Anne, bk. i. § 27,

and Craik's "Swift," p. 267. The little pamphlet is a feeble bit of pleasantry of the politico-allegorical type made popular by Arbuthnot's "History of John Bull."

l. 35, to revive the "**Spectator**." The new issue began on June 18th, 1714 (No. 556), and ended on December 20th, 1714 (No. 635). It was probably edited by Budgell. Of the eighty papers as Johnson tells us, Addison produced, according to Tickell, twenty-four; the last which can be positively identified as his is dated September 29th (No. 600). Among the unclaimed papers, however, printed during the last two or three months of the run, several may be safely referred to him, e.g., 608 and 623. See Morley's edition of the "**Spectator**," note on p. 854.

p. 20, l. 9, the other contributors. These include Budgell, who wrote three or more; Rev. Henry Grove, a Presbyterian (?) minister and controversialist, who wrote four; John Byrom (1691-1763), fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a fellow of the Royal Society, who wrote four. Many papers are unclaimed.

l. 18, Tickell has ascribed twenty-three. This is a slight mistake. Tickell identifies twenty-four as by Addison. In a note Johnson gives, on Tickell's authority, the following as written by Addison: 556, 557, 558, 559, 561, 562, 565, 567, 568, 569, 571, 574, 575, 579, 580, 582, 583, 584, 585, 590, 592, 598, 600. He leaves out 560, also given to Addison by Tickell.

l. 22, called loudly for the letters. Many correspondents wrote short letters, which were frequently inserted, especially by Steele.

l. 26, "**Essays on Wit**," viz., Nos. 35, 47, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Steele wrote 65 and 104 on the same subject.

l. 27, on the "**Pleasures of the Imagination**," viz., Nos. 411 to 421.

l. 28, "**Criticism on Milton**," viz., Nos. 267, 273, 279, 285, 291, 297, 303, 309, 315, 321, 327, 333, 339, 345, 351, 357, 363, 369.

l. 32, **Secretary to the regency**. Queen Anne had been induced, a day or two before her death, to name the Duke of Shrewsbury (Talbot) Lord Treasurer. He had sealed packets containing the names of those nominated to the Council of Regency. These were opened immediately on the death of the Queen (August 1st), and were found to contain the names of eighteen lords, nearly all Whigs, and these, with seven great officers of state, were to act as regents under the title of Lords Justices. They at once appointed Addison their secretary.

On the "idle tradition" as to Addison's inability to write the despatch to Hanover, see Macaulay, "**Essays**," p. 738-4. As Macaulay says, "Every office has some little mysteries, which

the dullest man may learn with a little attention, and which the greatest man cannot possibly know by intuition." And it is therefore quite possible that Addison sought and obtained help from one of the permanent officials.

After the arrival of George I., the quasi-interregnum being now at an end, and the Lord's Justices discharged, Addison became secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and held it till Sunderland resigned in 1716. He was returned a third time as M.P. for Malmesbury in January, 1715.

p. 21, l. 8, the "Freeholder." December 28rd, 1715, to June 9th, 1716, fifty-five papers in all. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 296 *seq.* "A political 'Spectator,' in defence of orthodox Whig principles imperilled by the rebellion in Scotland, and now remarkable chiefly for two [there are really *three*] numbers devoted to the Tory fox-hunter, an admirable portrait, half way between Sir Roger de Coverley and Squire Western" (Leslie Stephen). These papers are Nos. 22, 44, and 47 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 478; v. 61, 70).

"It was probably," says Mr. Courthope, "for his services in publishing the 'Freeholder' that he was made one of the Commissioners for Trade and the Colonies" ("Addison," p. 158). This appointment however was made in December, 1715, before the publication of the first number.

l. 17, the "Pretender's Journal." "The History of the Pretender's fourteen years' reign digested into annals" ("Freeholder," No. 86; Addison's "Works," Bohn, vi. 30). Dr. Johnson is a little hypercritical. Addison's only clear reference to the poverty of the Pretender is not ill-natured: "In the same year he ordered the Lord High Treasurer [*i.e.*, the Pretender's titular treasurer] to pay off the debts of the Crown which had been contracted since his accession to the throne; particularly a milk score of three years' standing."

l. 19, by Milton against King Charles II. This occurs in the Latin verses "In Salmasii Hundredam." See Globe edit., p. 625.

l. 22, Oldmixon. John Oldmixon (1675-1724), a wretched poet and a violent Whig, now chiefly remembered for his partisan History of England.

l. 28, too nice, too delicate.

is reported to have said. Even Mr. Aitken gives no authority for this report. "Steele," ii. 82.

l. 81, married the Countess Dowager of Warwick. This was Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, a Denbighshire baronet. She had lost her husband, the sixth earl, in 1701. She lived at Holland House, Kensington, not more

than two miles from Addison's little house at Sand's End, Fulham.

In those days open fields stretched north and west of the village of Chelsea. Addison and the countess became acquainted, and the interest taken by him in the education of the young earl, born in 1698, no doubt helped to cement the friendship.

l. 34, **that of Sir Roger to his disdainful widow.** See "Spectator," No. 113.

p. 22, l. 2, **by becoming tutor to her son.** This appears to be a mistake. At the same time we may safely assume that the relations between the *littérateur* and the *grande dame* were not quite so equal as Macaulay suggests: "Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbours, and became intimate friends" ("Essays," p. 740).

l. 3, **said Tonson.** See Spence's "Anecdotes," Singer, p. 47; Camelot, p. 11.

l. 14, **made no addition to his happiness.** There is little or no positive evidence to support this assertion; but that it was the general opinion is certain.

Pope's sneer ("Epistle to Arbuthnot," l. 393) about "marrying discord in a noble wife" does not necessarily refer to Addison at all; although it has been usually and probably with correctness applied to him, there is really nothing in the context to demand this special application.

l. 18, **ballad of the Despairing Shepherd.** The ballad referred to is "Colin's Complaint," which contains the lines:

"How foolish was I to believe
She could doat on so lowly a clown;
Or that her fond heart would not grieve
To forsake the fine folk of the town."

On Rowe, see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, ii. 75.

l. 23, **made Secretary of State.** Johnson has not given us many details of Addison's political life. He was returned M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1708, but the election was afterwards declared void (December, 1709). In 1709 he was M.P. for Cavan in the Irish Parliament. He was elected member for Malmesbury in 1710. He was re-elected several times for the same seat, which he held till his death. He held the following official appointments: Commissioner of Appeals, 1704; Under-Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges, and afterwards to the Earl of Sunderland, 1706-1708; Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Wharton, 1708-1710; Keeper of the Irish Records, 1709; Secretary to the Lords Justices, 1714; Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl of Sunderland, 1714-1716; a Lord Commissioner of Trade and

Plantations, 1715 ; Principal Secretary of State, 1717-1718, the other secretary being Sunderland. His salary as secretary was £1,850 a-year, and he had a grant of £3,000 from the secret service money the day after his appointment (Addison's "Works," Bohn, vi. 639-640).

l. 28, he could not speak. He made only one attempt to speak, and this was a failure.

l. 30, says Pope. "Addison could not give out a common order in writing, from his endeavouring always to word it too finely. He had too beautiful an imagination to make a man of business" (Pope in "Spence," Singer, p. 175 ; Camelot, p. 14).

A piece of gossip preserved by Wharton ("Essays," Pope, i. 145), and referred to by Mr. Leslie Stephen, commemorates the extreme fastidiousness of Addison. It is said that he would stop the printing of a "Spectator," when almost all the copies required had been struck off, in order to insert a new preposition or conjunction.

l. 34, pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. Addison resigned his post on March 14th, 1718. The warrant for the pension (dated four days later) is for £1,600, and not £1,500, as nearly all biographers following Johnson wrongly state. He retained his keepership of the Irish Records with its £500 a year. Besides these and the patent fee whilst he was secretary (£100 a year), and the enormous grant of £3,000 from the secret service money already mentioned, he had a royal grant of 1,018 ozs. of silver plate (May 18th, 1718). These were delightful days for Whig placemen. The warrants, etc., are given in full in Addison's "Works," Bohn, vi. 637-648.

p. 28, l. 1, account of declining health. This was probably not a mere excuse for graceful retirement. It was well known that he was suffering from asthma even before his marriage and his appointment to the secretaryship. "I received the news of Mr. Addison's being declared Secretary of State with the less surprise in that I knew the post was offered to him before. At that time he declined it, and I really believe he would have done well to decline it now. Such a post as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be in prudence eligible for a man that is asthmatic, and we may see the day when he will be glad to resign them both" (Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Sept. 1st, 1717, to Pope, Bohn edition of the "Letters," ii. 214). It is, however, important to say, that the authenticity of this letter is open to doubt. See Tickell's Preface, Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. xi.

l. 6, Tickell remarks. "If he had found time for the writing of another tragedy, the death of Socrates would have been the story. And, however unpromising that subject may appear, it

would be presumptuous to censure his choice, who was so famous for raising the noblest plants from the most barren soil. It serves to show that he thought the whole labour of such a performance unworthy to be thrown away upon those intrigues and adventures to which the romantic taste has confined modern tragedy" (Tickell's Preface, Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. x).

l. 8, sentiments. In the early eighteenth century sentiment always means opinion, judgment. Now-a-days, sentiment is properly used for an emotional condition of a highly intellectual and abstract kind. See Sully, "Outlines of Psychology," p. 860.

l. 10, a defence of the Christian Religion. First published in Tickell's edition of "Addison," 1721. See "Works," Bohn, v. 103.

"The scheme for the treatise upon the Christian Religion was formed by the author about the end of the late Queen's reign, at which time he carefully perused the ancient writings which furnish the materials for it. His continual employment in business prevented him from executing it, till he resigned his office of Secretary of State; and his death put a period to it, when he had imperfectly performed only one half of the design; he having proposed, as appears from the introduction, to add the Jewish to the Heathen testimonies for the truth of the Christian history" (Tickell's Preface, Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. xi).

The defence has little value, and almost deserves the censure of Gibbon in one of his characteristic foot-notes, where he says that Addison's "superficial tract on the Christian Religion owes its credit to his name, its style, and the interested applause of our clergy" (chap. xlix.).

l. 14, Pope imputed. "Mr. Addison originally designed to have taken orders, and was diverted from that design by being sent abroad in so encouraging a manner. It was from thence that he began to think of public posts, as being made Secretary of State at last, and sinking in his character by it, turned him back again to his first thought. He had latterly an eye toward the lawn, and it was then that he began his 'Evidences of Christianity,' and had a design of translating all the Psalms for the use of churches. Five or six of them that he did translate were published in the 'Spectator'" (Pope in "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 191; Camelot, p. 4).

l. 15, of Tonson. "Old Jacob Tonson did not like Mr. Addison. He had a quarrel with him, and after his quitting the secretaryship used frequently to say of him: 'One day or other you'll see that man a bishop! I'm sure he looks that way; and,

indeed, I ever thought him a priest in his heart' " (Pope in "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 200; *Camelot*, p. 4).

l. 26, in the ministry of Sunderland. Stanhope was the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer of the ministry of 1717, but in 1718 Sunderland exchanged offices with Stanhope. Most of the episcopal appointments of the Whig ministries in the first half of the eighteenth century were made for party reasons.

l. 30, Dr. Tillotson. John Robert Tillotson (1630-1694), a Yorkshireman, became fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1651. A Puritan, he yet conformed to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity, 1662; became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, lecturer at St. Lawrence, Jewry, and in 1672 Dean of Canterbury. He identified himself with the Whig party, and attended Lord Russell on the scaffold, in company with Burnet. In 1691 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, in place of the deprived Sancroft. He had an enormous reputation for eloquence, a reputation which was by no means confined to the Latitudinarian party. The eulogiums of Burnet, Locke, and Addison are confirmed by those of Dryden.

p. 24, l. 4, relapsed . . . to, unusual sequence of verb and particle.

l. 12, the Peerage Bill. Only six peerages beyond those then existing (178) were to be created. New peerages were to be confined to heirs male. The Act of Union was to be broken, and the sixteen representative peers of Scotland were to be replaced by twenty-five hereditary peers named by the Crown. See Hallam, "Constitutional History," pp. 704-5 (Ward and Lock's edition); Macaulay, "Essays," pp. 741-42.

l. 23, Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), the great Whig statesman and "Old Parliamentary Hand" of the eighteenth century. In 1708 he was Secretary at War. In 1710 he took a part in the impeachment of Sacheverell; and when the new Tory government came in he was expelled from the House of Commons. Under George I. he held several offices, and in 1721 he became for the second time First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. An unscrupulous party statesman, and loving power above honour or consistency, he governed by bribery and corruption; but his eminently pacific policy was to the advantage of the country. Beaten in the House of Commons, he resigned in 1745, and died three years afterwards.

l. 26, twelve new peers at once. This was in 1711.

l. 30, chose themselves for seven. This was the Septennial Act of 1716. Hallam sneers at those who argued that the proceeding was unconstitutional, but produces no argument to support the sneer ("Constitutional History," p. 768).

l. 34, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford. This "Letter to the Earl of O . . . d [Harley] concerning the Bill of Peerage" ran through two or three editions, in 1719.

Steele had used the same argument in the "Plebeian," No. 1 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 240): "But another consequence of a much higher nature attending the limitation of the number of Peers, is the danger there will be of changing the Constitution by this means into an Aristocracy; and this may at any time be effected by the confederacy of two or three great families, which would form such a body amongst the Lords as the Crown would not be able to control." Steele's dread of a Whig oligarchy was to some extent warranted by facts. See Lecky, "History of the Eighteenth Century," i. 182 *seq.* (1st edit.)

p. 25, l. 6, the "Plebeian." This paper, or rather series of pamphlets, on the Peerage question ran to four numbers, issued on Saturday, March 14th, 1719, Monday, March 23rd, and the two following Mondays. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, pp. 237-307. Addison's "Old Whig" only ran to two numbers, dated Thursday, March 19th, and Thursday, April 2nd. *Ib.*, pp. 247, 284. Addison's second pamphlet must have been intentionally annoying to Steele.

l. 15, *controvertists*. This word is obsolete. We should, of course, say *controversialists*.

l. 16, *Little Dicky*, whose trade it is to write pamphlets. This is a gross misquotation of Johnson's, due to the fact that he had not seen the original of the "Old Whig," but got his information from the "Biographia Britannica." See p. 25, l. 33. The whole paragraph from the second "Old Whig," in which the reference to Little Dickey occurs, may be quoted: "But our author's chief concern is for the poor House of Commons, whom he represents as naked and defenceless, when the Crown, by losing this prerogative, would be less able to protect them against the power of a House of Lords. Who forbears laughing, when the Spanish friar [in Dryden's play of that name] represents *LITTLE DICKEY*, under the person of Gomez, insulting the colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown? This Gomez, says he, flew upon him like a dragon, the devil being strong in him, and gave him *bastinado* on *bastinado*, and buffet upon buffet, which the poor meek colonel, being prostrate, suffered with a most Christian patience. The improbability of the fact never fails to raise mirth in the audience; and one may venture to answer for a British House of Commons, if we may guess from its conduct hitherto, that it will scarce be either so lame or so weak as our author supposes" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 287).

The identification of Little Dickey with Steele cannot be maintained. Lord Macaulay was the first to show that "Little Dickey" was the nickname of Henry Norris, an actor of remarkably small stature, but of great humour, "who played the usurer Gomez, then a most popular part, in Dryden's 'Spanish Friar'" ("Essays," p. 742), and which is more to the point, that of Dicky in Farquhar's "Trip to the Jubilee." It was from the latter he got his nickname. There is an allusion to him at the end of the "Spectator," No. 44: "It would be an endless task . . . to mention the innumerable shifts that small wits put in practice to raise a laugh. Bullock in a short coat, and Norris in a long one, seldom fail of this effect." Oddly enough in the "Guardian," No. 108, there is mention of a "Little Dickey," but this is Dick Distich, the president of the Short Club, of whom particulars will be found in No. 92. This has not, I think, been pointed out before.

Macaulay's account of Addison's treatment of this controversy is not at all fair. It is quite true that Addison did not "forget for a moment the laws of good taste and good breeding." But a man with a fine taste in satire may inflict severe wounds on an excitable and tender-hearted friend without any considerable infraction of those laws. The opening sentence of the second "Old Whig" is bitter and contemptuous, and when one remembers who wrote it, and about whom, the inadequacy of Macaulay's apology is sufficiently obvious. It is worth while to quote it:

"The author of the 'Plebeian,' to show himself a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet-writing, begins, like a son of Grub Street, with declaring the great esteem he has for himself, and the contempt he entertains for the scribblers of the age. One would think, by his way of presenting it, that the unexpected appearance of his pamphlet was as great a surprise upon the world as that of the late meteor, or, indeed, something more terrible, if you will believe the author's magnificent description of his own performance" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 284).

Macaulay's attempt to suggest that Addison's severity was due to "an odious imputation on the morals of the chiefs of the administration," made by Steele, is unworthy of him. Steele did not make any imputation; and Addison in his reply (No. 2 of the "Old Whig") made absolutely no allusion to what Macaulay calls "so grave an offence against morality and decorum" ("Essays," p. 742). It is somewhat difficult to believe that Macaulay had ever read through the pamphlets.

1. 22, commitment. See Stanhope, "Hist. of England," i. 546, *seq.*

l. 29, as Lucan expresses it. The first line of Lucan's "Pharsalia": "Bella per Emathios plusque civilia campos."

l. 38, "*Biographia Britannica*." This biographical dictionary was published in 1747-66, six volumes folio, the last being in two parts, bound separately. An enlarged edition was published 1779-98, but was not completed.

l. 84, is not inscribed in Addison's Works. This was the edition in four volumes, published after his death in 1721. It was edited by Tickell, with a biographical preface, which is one of our chief authorities for the facts of Addison's life. To it was prefixed a dedication to James Craggs, Addison's friend and successor in the post of Secretary of State, written by Addison himself a fortnight before his death. This edition formed the basis of Bishop Hurd's (1811), which includes the "Drummer" and some other pieces omitted by Tickell. The edition of Hurd in Bohn's "Standard Library" includes, amongst other additional matter, the "Plebeian" by Steele, and the "Old Whig" by Addison (v. 237 *seq.*)

p. 26, l. 1, the biographers, the writers of the "*Biographia Britannica*."

l. 20, walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished. Compare Horace's

"Incedis per ignes

Suppositos cineri doloso."

"Odes," I. ii.

l. 28, nothing that is false than all that is true. Compare Gracian, "Oráculo Manual," § 181 (Mr. Jacobs' translation, p. 108). There were several translations of this book published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *e.g.* 1694, 1702, etc.

l. 29, as Pope relates. "Spence," Singer, p. ; Camelot, pp. 11, 12. "A fortnight before Addison's death, Lord Warwick came to Gay and pressed him in a very particular manner 'to go and see Mr. Addison'; which he had not done for a great while. Gay went, and found Addison in a very weak way. He received him in the kindest manner, and told him 'that he had desired this visit to beg his pardon; that he had injured him greatly; but that if he lived, he should find that he would make it up to him.' Gay, on his going into Hanover [with Lord Clarendon, in 1718], had great reason to hope for some good preferment—the present family had made strong promises to him—but his views came to nothing. It is not impossible but that Mr. Addison might prevent them, from his thinking Gay [stood] too well with some of the great men of the former ministry [Oxford, Bolingbroke, etc.]. He did not at all explain himself in what way he had injured him, and Gay could not guess at anything

else in which he could have injured him so considerably." See Johnson's "Life of Gay," "Lives," Bohn, ii. 257 *seq.*

p. 27, l. 14, he likewise died himself in a short time. Edward Henry Rich, the seventh earl of Warwick, died August 16th, 1721, aged twenty-four.

l. 16, **Tickell's excellent elegy.** This is the poem "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick," prefixed to Tickell's edition of the works of Addison. See Bohn, i. xiii.

l. 24, **Holland-house.** This famous Kensington mansion, built in 1607, was long associated with the fortunes of the Whig party.

"Addison died in the well-known dining-room where so many statesmen, artists, and poets have met together at the hospitable table of Lord Holland. A print of this room will be found in the Princess Liechtenberg's 'Holland House,' vol. ii. p. 75." See Macaulay's "Essays," pp. 601-2.

It is said that Addison fell a victim to misplaced confidence in the virtues of the Widow Trueby's Water, so well known to the readers of the "Spectator." See No. 329.

leaving no child but a daughter. This was Charlotte Addison, born January 30th, 1719, and therefore barely six months old. She was "apparently of rather defective intellect." She lived, unmarried, until 1797, at Bilton, near Rugby, where Addison had bought an estate, for which it is said he gave £10,000. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 424, note; vi. 512.

Her mother, the Countess of Warwick, died on July 7th, 1731.

p. 28, l. 3, **by too mild a name,** using too mild a name.

Steele mentions. See his Letter to Congreve (Dedication to the "Drummer," Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 152).

l. 8, **Chesterfield affirms.** See Lord Chesterfield's "Letters," edited by Lord Carnarvon, p. 185.

l. 10, **deficiency.** This word is practically obsolete; deficiency.

used to say of himself. A slightly different form of the remark is given in Boswell's "Life." "Mr. Langton having repeated the anecdote of Addison having distinguished between his powers in conversation and in writing, by saying, 'I have only ninapence in my pocket; but I can draw for a thousand pounds;'—JOHNSON: 'He had not that retort ready, sir; he had prepared it beforehand.' LANGTON (turning to me): 'A fine surmise. Set a thief to catch a thief'" ("Boswell," Bohn, iii. 339).

l. 27, **says Steele.** Letter to Congreve (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 151).

l. 32, **Terence.** Publius Terentius Afer, Latin comic dramatist, born about 185 B.C., died about 159 B.C.

Catullus. Gaius Valerius Catullus, the greatest Latin lyrical poet, born about 84 B.C., died about 54 B.C.

The parallelism between these two great writers and Addison is not very obvious.

p. 29, l. 1., **says Pope.** "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 50; Camelot, p. 14. Johnson's quotation is not verbally exact.

l. 8, **modern wit.** On wit, see above, p. 79.

l. 9, **used to depreciate Dryden.** "Addison was so eager to be the *first* name, that he and his friend Sir Richard Steele used to run down even Dryden's character as far as they could. Pope and Congreve used to support it" (Tonson in "Spence," Singer, p. 47; Camelot, p. 13).

On this weakness of Addison's character most of his contemporaries are agreed. Pope's "Atticus" lines are so well known that some apology is needed for quoting them; but to save the student a reference I give them in full:

"Peace to all such! but were there One whose fires
True Genius kindles, and fair Fame inspires;
Blest with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease:
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers besieg'd,
And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd;
Like *Cato*, give his little Senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While Wits and Templars ev'ry sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise:—
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep if *ATTICUS* were he?"

("Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," ll. 198 *seq.*)

The following testimonies are less well known: "Mr. Addison was not a good-natured man, and very jealous of rivals" (Dr. Leigh in "Spence," Singer, p. 843; Camelot, p. 5).

"Cibber confirmed to me Mr. Addison's character of bearing no rival, and enduring none but flatterers" ("Spence," Singer, p. 848; Camelot, p. 8).

"Pope's character of Addison is one of the truest, as well as one of the best things he ever wrote. Addison deserved that character the most of any man. Yet how charming are his prose writings!" (Dr. Lookier, Dean of Peterborough, in "Spence," p. 57; Camelot, p. 10).

1. 13, by some disingenuous arts he endeavoured to obstruct. This charge may refer to: (1) The damning with faint praise of Pope's Pastorals and the heartier commendation of Ambrose Philips' (see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 256). (2) The advice given to Pope not to alter the "Rape of the Lock" from its original form (see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 72; Macaulay's "Essays," p. 736). (3) The disowning of Pope's "Frenzy of John Dennis" (see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 82). (4) The assistance given to Tickell in his "Iliad," and the preference shown that translation over Pope's (see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 104; Macaulay's "Essays," p. 737). (5) The alleged encouragement given to Gildon to attack Pope (Macaulay's "Essays," pp. 738-9).

Of these facts, the first two can at worst only argue want of critical insight in Addison. The third, although showing a certain want of consideration for his friend Pope,—who had written a much admired prologue for "Cato,"—has been explained and approved (or at any rate not condemned) by Johnson. As to the fourth, the assistance given to Tickell was doubtless less than Pope supposed. At one one time Pope accused Addison of actually writing the rival version of Book I. of the "Iliad." The charge seems extravagant to us; and it is certainly startling to find Steele reiterating it by way of innuendo in the first flush of his anger against Tickell. In his Letter to Congreve, prefixed to the second edition of the "Drummer," Steele says: "I hope nobody will be wronged or think himself aggrieved, that I give this rejected work where I do [*i.e.*, assign it to Addison]; and if a certain gentleman is injured by it, I will allow I have wronged him, upon this issue, that (if the reputed translator of the first book of Homer shall please to give us another book) there shall appear another good judge of poetry besides Mr. Alexander Pope, who shall like it" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 158). Gibber, an enemy of Pope's, told Spence that Addison "translated the greater part of the first book of the 'Iliad' published as Tickell's, and put it forth with a design to have overset Pope's" ("Spence," Singer, p. 348; Camelot, p. 8). These instances of contemporary opinion will show that the impression was not confined to Pope. Nevertheless, most of Addison's biographers overlook them, and regard Pope's belief as a sort of insane delusion due to anger, jealousy, and suspicion. Macaulay accuses Pope of finding all his evidence for the accusation "in

his own bad heart," and Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Courthope come to much the same conclusion. It would be nearer the truth to say that the external and internal evidence against Addison being inconclusive, the case for the defence rests mainly on Addison's own character. That Addison, being what he was, should adopt such a tortuous, dangerous, and ineffective way of injuring a man against whom he never showed any active dislike, is in a high degree improbable. At the same time, Pope's suspicions cannot be pronounced extravagant, since they were shared by Steele and by Cibber, amongst others.

For the sake of reference I here append Pope's statement to Spence, which is of course *ex parte*, but is certainly moderate enough in tone (Singer, p. 146; Camelot, pp. 8-10):

"There had been a coldness between Mr. Addison and me for some time, and we had not been in company together for a good while anywhere but at Button's coffee-house, where I used to see him almost every day. On his meeting me there, one day in particular, he took me aside, and said he should be glad to dine with me at such a tavern if I would stay till those people (Budgell and Philips) were gone. He abused those two gentlemen very much, and said he hoped that nobody could think that he esteemed 'em heartily. We went accordingly, and after dinner Mr. Addison said, 'that he had wanted for some talk with me; that his friend Tickell had formerly, whilst at Oxford, translated the first book of the "Iliad." That he now designed to print it, and had desired him to look it over; he must therefore beg that I would not desire him to look over my first book, because, if he did, it would have the air of double-dealing.' I assured him that I did not at all take it ill of Mr. Tickell that he was going to publish his translation; that he certainly had as much right to translate any author as myself; and that publishing both was entering on a fair stage. I then added, 'that I would not desire him to look over my first book of the "Iliad," because he had looked over Mr. Tickell's; but could wish to have the benefit of his observations on my second, which I had then finished, and which Mr. Tickell had not touched upon.' Accordingly, I sent him the second book next morning, and in a few days he returned it with very high commendation. Soon after it was generally known that Mr. Tickell was publishing the first book of the 'Iliad' I met Dr. Young in the street, and upon our falling into that subject, the doctor expressed a great deal of surprise at Tickell's having such a translation by him so long. He said that it was inconceivable to him, and that there must be some mistake in the matter; that he and Tickell were so intimately acquainted at

Oxford that each used to communicate to the other whatever verses they wrote, even to the least things; that Tickell could not have been busied in so long a work there without his knowing something of the matter, and that he had never heard a single word of it till on this occasion. This surprise of Dr. Young, together with what Steele had said against Tickell in relation to this affair, make it highly probable that there was some underhand dealing in that business; and, indeed, Tickell himself, who is a very fair, worthy man, has since in a manner as good as owned it to me."

Even if Addison were guiltless of writing the rival translation of Book I., he was at any rate guilty of preferring it to Pope's. In two lines in his character of Atticus, afterwards omitted, Pope gives utterance to this charge:

"Who, if two wits on rival themes contest,
Approves of both, but likes the worst the best."

In a letter to Pope (July 8th, 1715) Gay tells him: "I have just set down Sir Samuel Garth at the opera. He bid me tell you that everybody is pleased with your translation but a few at Button's, and that Sir Richard Steele told him that the other translation [Tickell's] was the best that was in any language. He treated me with extreme civility, and out of kindness gave me a squeeze by the forehead. I am informed that at Button's your character is made very free with as to morals, etc., and Mr. Addison says that your translation and Tickell's are both very well done, but that the latter has more of Homer."

In No. 40 of the "Freeholder," published May 7th, 1716 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, p. 48), there is a polite reference to Pope's "Homer," in which it is placed inferentially on the same level as Dryden's "Virgil," while there is no *amari aliquid* in the shape of a parallel commendation of Tickell. "The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge from Dryden's 'Virgil' of the most perfect epic performance; and those parts of 'Homer' which have been already published by Mr. Pope, give us reason to think that the 'Iliad' will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem."

The fifth instance of "disingenuous acts" chargeable against Addison in respect of Pope, is of importance only as a justification of Pope's "Atticus" lines.

The story as told by Pope runs thus: "Philips seemed to have been encouraged to abuse me, in coffee-houses and conversations. Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley in which he had abused both me and my relations very grossly. Lord Warwick, who was but a weak man himself, told me one day 'that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr.

Addison; that his jealous temper would never admit of a settled friendship between us; and to convince of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published.' The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison to let him know 'that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his; that if I was to speak severely of him in return for it, it should not be in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him himself fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner.' I then subjoined the first sketch of what has been since called my satire on Addison. He used me very civilly ever after, and never did me any injustice that I know of from that time to his death, which was about three years after" ("Spence," Singer, p. 148; Camelot, p. 10).

The tale rests entirely on Pope's unsupported testimony. Here again it has been freely asserted that Pope was so untruthful that absolutely no confidence can be placed on his assertions; while Addison's character is so high that he could not possibly have done what Pope charged him with. It is, perhaps, best to rest the defence on one or both of these two propositions. Mr. Courthope's attempt to explode the story by reference to dates can hardly be esteemed a success (Courthope, "Addison," p. 142 sq.; Courthope and Elwin's "Pope," iii. p. 282 sq.).

1. 14, **Pope was not the only man.** This charge against Addison is as vague as it is serious. Since Johnson gives no hint of his meaning, it is difficult to deal with it. The only other cases I can think of in which any suggestion of invidious injury has been ever made is that of Gay (see above, pp. 26-7).

1. 22, **Dialogues on Medals.** Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 255.

1. 30, **says Steele**, in the Letter to Congreve. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 158.

particular, special, remarkable.

p. 30, 1. 2, **declares that he wrote very fluently.** "Spence," Singer, p. 49; Camelot, p. 18.

1. 11, **The last line of "Cato."** Johnson's authority is "Spence," Singer, p. 151; Camelot, pp. 18, 14. The last six lines run thus:

"From hence, let fierce contending nations know
What dire effects from civil discord flow.
'Tis this that shakes our country with alarms,
And gives up Rome a prey to Roman arms,

Produces fraud and cruelty and strife,
And robs the guilty world of Cato's life."

Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 226.

1. 21, a detail. We should say, a detailed account. The account is given in "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 148; *Camelot*, p. 12; it runs thus: "Addison's chief companions before he married Lady Warwick (in 1716) were Steele, Budgell, Philips, Carey, Davenant, and Colonel Brett. He used to breakfast with one or other of them at his lodgings in St. James's Place, dine at taverns with them, then to Button's, and then to some tavern again for supper in the evening; and this was then the usual round of his life." "Addison usually studied all the morning; then met his party at Button's, dined there, and stayed five or six hours, and sometimes far into the night. I was of the company for about a year, but found it too much for me: it hurt my health, so I quitted it." It will be noticed that these two paragraphs are not in entire agreement.

1. 22, Philips. This is Ambrose Philips (1671-1749), author of certain pastorals which provoked the contempt of Pope and Gay, and of some plays. Philips, who wrote a few charming short poems about children, which have a suggestion of Lamb about them, got the name of *Namby Pamby*. His "*Distrest Mother*," a version of Racine's "*Andromaque*," was vigorously applauded by Addison's set, who carried what is now called log-rolling to a high degree of perfection (Johnson's "*Lives*," Bohn, iii. 251).

1. 22, Carey. Probably Henry Carey (died 1748), the popular musician, who wrote the words and adapted the tune of "*Sally in our Alley*," wrote "*Chrononhotonthologos*," 1784, and the "*Dragon of Wantley*," a burlesque of Italian opera. He was we know a friend of Addison's. Mr. Cunningham, however, thinks the person named was Walter Carey, the "*Umbra*" of Pope.

1. 22, Davenant. Was this Dr. Charles Davenant (died 1714), son of Sir W. Davenant, the dramatist, and Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, and a writer of political tracts after the style of Sir W. Petty, or, as is more likely, his son, "a very giddy-headed young fellow, with some art," who was made Envoy at Genoa? See Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 825, 440; vi. 471; cf. Swift's "Correspondence," November 3rd, 1718.

1. 23, Colonel Brett. Henry Brett (died 1724), a handsome idler, who married the divorced wife of the Earl of Macclesfield, the reputed mother of Richard Savage. Supposed to be the Colonel Ramble of the "*Tatler*," No. 7. His daughter Anne became mistress of George I.

1. 25, **Button's**. "It was Dryden who made Will's coffee-house the great resort of the wits of his time. After his death Addison transferred it to Button's, who had been a servant of his [Johnson says of Lady Warwick's]; they were opposite each other in Russell Street, Covent Garden" (Pope, in "Spence," *Singer*, p. 263; *Camelot*, p. 12). Button's was reckoned a Whig house (see "Spectator," No. 556). For an account of coffee-house see "Spectator," No. 49, by Steele. There are many joking references to Button's in the "Guardian," Nos. 71, 98, 140 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, iv. 166, 175, 269).

p. 81, l. 1, **drank too much wine**. Dr. Johnson speaks very positively of Addison's excessive drinking, and it was certainly commonly believed in when Johnson wrote. See, for instance, the statement of Dr. Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell) that Addison wrote some of his best "Spectators" "when warm with wine" ("Boswell," Bohn, iv. 48). An anonymous annotator of the 1797 edition of the "Tatler" says that it was reported that Addison shortened his life by excess, and that Tonson boasted of paying his court to Addison by giving him excuses for indulgence (Leslie Stephen, "Addison," in "Dict. Nat. Biog.," i. 125). The weakness has been admitted by nearly all biographers. Mr. Courtney, however, questions the truth of the tradition, and cites in Addison's favour the testimony of Bishop Berkeley, who, speaking of the first night of "Cato," says: "I was present with Mr. Addison and a few more friends in a side box, where we had a table and two or three flasks of Burgundy and champagne, with which the author (who is a very sober man) thought it necessary to support his spirits" (see Courthope, "Addison," p. 159). This view, however, can hardly be accepted in the face of the common tradition of the century, and the positive testimony of Addison's contemporaries. It is true that Pope's statement, given by Spence, and already quoted (see p. 98), proves little. It suggests, indeed, that the company drank too much for Pope. But this is not a safe inference, since alcoholic liquors were not sold at coffee-houses. And then Pope was a very delicate man and remarkably abstemious; and further, he says nothing specially about Addison himself, who conceivably may have drunk nothing while his companions took too much. There is, however, the positive statement of Swift, who at least on one occasion saw Addison "half-fuddled" at dinner ("Journal to Stella," Oct. 31st, 1710).

Addison has a well-known "Spectator" (No. 569) on Drunkenness. In the "Tatler," No. 252, Steele says: "In a coffee-house he appears rather dull than sprightly. You can seldom get him to the tavern; but when once he is arrived to his pint, and begins to look about and like his company, you

admire a thousand things in him which before lay buried." Mr. L. Stephen thinks this obviously refers to Addison; if so, it is in curious contradiction to the statement about his regularly dining and supping at a tavern.

l. 14, **remark of Mandeville.** This was Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733), the author of the "Fable of the Bees," a crude and overrated book, which attacked orthodox opinions in morality and religion. Johnson's authority for this *not* seems to be Hawkins (see his "History of Music," v. 815-16, note).

l. 21, **promised Congreve and the public.** Letter to Congreve prefixed to the "Drummer," Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 153-4.

l. 84, **disgusted him,** gave him a distaste for it. The word had not such a strong meaning as it has now.

l. 26, **Swift has preserved.** This comes in incidentally in Swift's paper on the "Death of Mrs. Johnson" (Stella): "She was never positive in arguing; and she usually treated them who were so in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr. Addison, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them" ("Works," ii. 317). This treatment of the self-assertive and the noisy by "ironical acquiescence" is very characteristic of Addison.

l. 80, **Stella.** Esther Johnson, the friend, and possibly wife, of Swift. See Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 9.

p. 82, l. 5, **says Steele.** Epistle to Congreve, Addison's "Works," Bohn, v. 148.

l. 24, **justly observed by Tickell.** Preface to Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. v.

l. 82, **above all Greek, above all Roman fame.** Pope, "Imitation of Horace," bk. ii., epist. i. 26.

p. 83, l. 3, **turn many to righteousness.** Compare Daniel, xii. 8.

l. 9, **as Swift observes.** See quotation from the "Libel on Dr. Delaney," p. 65 above, note to p. 6, l. 1.

l. 18, **the diadem, the sign of kingly dignity.** The relation between diadem and laurel is not the same as between the good man and the great poet, so Johnson's antithesis falls a little flat. Perhaps he was thinking of the "crown of glory" in heaven, and not of the earthly symbol.

l. 20, **a great writer.** William Warburton (1698-1779), Bishop

of Gloucester, author of the "Divine Legation of Moses," and other apologetic works; a friend of Pope and defender of his orthodoxy. This remark is to be found in Warburton's edition of "Pope's Collected Works" (1752), iv. 178. "He was but an ordinary poet and a worse critic. His verses are heavy and his judgment of men and books superficial."

p. 84, l. 4, **Poems to Dryden, to Somers, etc.** See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 1-10.

l. 5, **Ode on St. Cecilia.** "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day at Oxford" is a feeble echo of Dryden's "Song for St. Cecilia's Day, 1687," or the still greater "Alexander's Feast" of ten years later. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, p. 20. There is another "Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, set to music by Mr. Daniel Purcell, performed at Oxford, 1699," not included in Tickell's edition of "Addison." See Bohn, vi. 584. This Daniell Purcell was youngest brother of the great Henry Purcell.

l. 7, **Account of the English Poets.** See p. 61 above, note to p. 4, l. 16. Johnson is in error in saying that he "never printed the piece." It was printed in Dryden's "Annual Miscellany" (fourth part of Tonson's "Poetical Miscellany"), 1694, but never reprinted until Tickell's collected edition. Johnson was misled by Pope, who says (see "Spence," Singer, p. 50; Camelot, p. 18) of this poem: "That was not published till after his death, and I daresay he would not have suffered it to have been printed had he been living; for he himself used to speak of it as a poor thing. He wrote it when he was very young; and as such, gave the characters of some of our best poets only by hearsay. Thus his character of Chaucer is diametrically opposite to the truth; he blames him for want of humour. The character he gives of Spenser is false too, and I have heard him say that he never read Spenser till fifteen years after he wrote it."

l. 10, **Character of Waller.** Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 25.

l. 19, **the Letter from Italy.** See p. 65, note to p. 5, l. 31. A typical production of Addison's muse, which Pope liked "the most of all his poems." See "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 316; Camelot, p. 5. To the nineteenth-century reader it seems pale and uninteresting, without a single definite picture, a single original reflection, or a single picturesque phrase. The best lines have been often quoted:

"For wheresoe'er I turn my ravished eyes
Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,
Poetic fields encompass me around
And still I seem to tread on classic ground;
For here the muse so oft her harp has strung,
That not a mountain rears its head unsung,

Renowned in verse each shady thicket grows,
And every stream in heavenly numbers flows."

These lines contain for the first time the famous phrase "classic ground." It is a useful object-lesson in poetry to compare them with the third stanza in the second ternary of Gray's "Ode on the Progress of Poesy," for which Johnson has nothing but a sneer.

l. 25, **broken metaphor**, what is more usually called a mixture of metaphors. See "Spectator," No. 595.

Addison has just mentioned Nassau, *i.e.*, William III., and continues with more of the courtier than the poet:

"Fired with that name, which I so oft have found
The distant climes and different tongues resound,
I bridle in my struggling muse with pain,
That longs to launch into a bolder strain."

l. 34, **the far-famed Campaign**. See above, p. 6.

l. 35, **Dr. Warton**. This is Joseph Warton (1722-1800), the elder brother of Thomas Warton, who wrote the "History of English Poetry." The often quoted criticism occurs in his "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope," i. 29.

p. 85, l. 5, **Many of our own writers**, *e.g.*, John Philips, in his blank verse, "Blenheim," dedicated to Harley; Matthew Prior, in his "Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux, occasioned by the Victory at Blenheim."

l. 10, **mighty bone**. This seems to be a reference to Dryden's rendering of "Æneid," v. 422:

"Composed of mighty bones and brawn he stands."

l. 19, **This Pope had in his thoughts**. The lines quoted are the last four in the "Campaign" (see Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 54):

"Marlborough's exploits appear divinely bright,
And proudly shine in their own native light;
Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those who paint 'em truest paint 'em most."

Pope's alleged plagiarism occurs in the last lines of "Eloisa to Abelard":

"The well-sung woes will sooth my pensive ghost;
He best can paint 'em who shall feel 'em most."

Johnson's remark is a good example of eighteenth-century criticism assisted by "clear common-sense," which overlooked poetical feeling and beauty of phrase to fix itself on formal

errors of statement, on logical inconsistencies and irrationalities of expression.

1. 28, the simile of the Angel.

" 'Twas thus great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That, in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war ;
In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the dreadful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleased, the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

(Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 49.)

On this passage, see Macaulay's "Essays" ("Addison"), p. 716. Macaulay "will not dispute the general justice of Johnson's remarks on this passage"; but he points out that most of the extraordinary effect it produced on its first appearance was due to "a line which most readers now regard as a feeble parenthesis :

'Such as, of late, o'er pale Britannia pass'd.'"

Addison spoke not of a storm, but of the storm. The great tempest of November, 1708, the only tempest which, in our latitude, has equalled the rage of a tropical hurricane, had left a dreadful recollection in the minds of all men."

The passage quoted from the "Tatler" occurs in No. 48.

p. 86, l. 6, **When Horace says of Pindar.** See Horace's "Odes," bk. iv., ode ii. 5-8 :

"Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet, immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore."

1. 9, of himself. *Ibid.*, ll. 27-32 :

... "Ego apud Matinæ
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.

l. 24, This is a simile.

"So Belgian mounds bear on their shattered sides
The sea's whole weight, increased with swelling tides."

Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 47.

l. 25, Achilles thus was formed with every grace. See Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 58.

p. 87, l. 10, **Dr. Madden.** Dr. Samuel Madden, an early patron and friend of Dr. Johnson. He was nicknamed "Premium Madden" because by his advice a system of quarterly examinations and premiums (or prizes) was instituted at Trinity College, Dublin. See Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, i. 249. Dr. Percy attributes to Madden Johnson's well-known dislike to Swift. See "Johnsoniana," Bohn, p. 27.

l. 14, The opera of "Rosamond." See above, p. 7, and note, p. 67.

l. 28, expletive epithets, adjectives merely inserted to fill up the line. With the verse of ten syllables, end-stopped, there was a great tendency to pad with unnecessary words. A wearisome trick of prefixing a dissyllabic adjective to nearly every monosyllabic noun (especially at the end of the line) is very common in eighteenth-century writers. For instance, in Addison's "Letter from Italy":

"How has kind Heaven adorned the *happy land*,
And scattered blessings with a *wasteful hand*."

Thomson is one of the worst sinners. In one passage in "Spring" of twenty-four lines, selected at random, I have counted twelve such collocations, mostly terminal.

l. 26, Sir Trusty's account of the death of Rosamond. See act ii. sc. 7:

"The King this doleful news shall read

In lines of my inditing:

'Great Sir,

Your Rosamond is dead, [Writing]

As I am at this present writing."

Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 73.

l. 28, engaging in its process, interesting in its progress.

l. 80, the lighter parts of poetry. Addison, however, had not the lyric faculty necessary to succeed in *vers de société*, like Prior; or the vigour and *abandon* necessary to the burlesque and mock-heroic, like Gay. His humour, though usually obvious, is wanting in body.

l. 82, The tragedy of "Cato" was included in the edition of the "British Poets" for which Johnson wrote the "Lives," although

this was contrary to the rule which excluded dramatic pieces from the collection. Johnson speaks of it as "the late collection" in his reprinted "Lives."

p. 38, l. 5, **just sentiments**, right judgments or opinions.

l. 8, **excites or asswages emotion**. This is a reference to Aristotle's famous definition of tragedy: "Tragedy is an imitation of some action that is important, entire, and of a proper magnitude—by language embellished and rendered pleasurable, but by different means in different parts—in the way, not of narration, but of action, *effecting through pity and terror the correction and refinement of such passions*" (ii. i., Twining's translation). Compare Boswell's "Johnson," iii. 86.

l. 10, **expected**, awaited.

l. 22, **he advised the author to print it**. "When Mr. Addison finished his 'Cato,' he brought it to me, desired to have my sincere opinion of it, and left it with me for three or four days. I gave him my opinion sincerely, which was, 'that I thought that he had better not act it, and that he would get reputation enough by only printing it.' This I said, as thinking the lines well written, but the piece not theatrical enough. Some time after Mr. Addison said, 'that his own opinion was the same as mine; but that some particular friend of his, whom he could not disoblige, insisted on its being acted.' And so it was, you know, with the greatest applause" (Pope in "Spence," ed. Singer, p. 186; Camelot, p. 6).

l. 38, **Dennis**. See p. 16, and note, p. 76.

p. 39, l. 11, **vast and violent runs**. The run of a play is the length of time during which it is continuously performed. In the early eighteenth century a run of nine nights was considered fairly long. A run of twenty was regarded as extraordinary. "The Beggar's Opera," which had a run of sixty-three nights at Covent Garden, and a run of fifty at Bath and at Bristol, had the longest runs of any piece at that period. Now-a-days runs of two or three hundred nights are quite common; and in at least one instance ("Our Boys," at the Vaudeville) a piece has been performed at one theatre without interruption for over a thousand.

p. 40, l. 6, **exact distribution of poetical justice**. In two of Addison's papers in the "Spectator" (Nos. 40 and 548) the conventional ideas of poetic justice are admirably criticised. See above, p. 15, and p. 76. Dennis takes the lines which seemed most natural to the optimistic and highly didactic eighteenth century. He wants tragedy to suggest no uncomfortable doubts as to the ultimately profitable character of virtue, in this best of all possible worlds. He cannot bear that a play shall contain "no instructive lecture of a particular

Providence." But as Professor R. G. Moulton says in his brilliant lectures on the drama, "Any principle which the course of the universe suggests to thinkers has a right to be reflected in fiction, with the emphasis of artistic setting; and, if these principles seem mutually contradictory, it is the business of philosophy to systematize; poetry may choose to stop short at portraying" ("Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," third edition, p. 267). Johnson, who was one of the first to break through the superficial optimism of his time, says practically the same thing in his own way.

1. 26, **Syphax**. That the comments of Dennis may be the more easily followed, the *dramatis personæ* of "Cato" are here given, with the names of the actors who originally played the parts:

CATO	. . . . .	Mr. Booth.
LUCIUS, a Senator	. . . . .	Mr. Keen.
SEMPRONIUS, a Senator	. . . . .	Mr. Mills.
JUBA, Prince of Numidia	. . . . .	Mr. Wilks.
SYPHAX, General of the Numidians	. . . . .	Mr. Cibber.
PORTIUS	} Sons of Cato	Mr. Powell.
MARCUS		Mr. Ryan.
DECIUS, ambassador for Cæsar	. . . . .	Mr. Bowman.
MARCIA, daughter to Cato	. . . . .	Mrs. Oldfield.
LUCIA, daughter to Lucius	. . . . .	Mrs. Porter.
Senators, Mutineers, etc.		

Sempronius is the villain of the piece, and while pretending to be a fervent supporter of Cato, conspires with Syphax against him. The hypocrite is in love with Cato's daughter Marcia, and finds a rival in the generous and heroic Juba. The two sons of Cato are noble rivals for the love of Lucia.

On Booth, see p. 15, above, and p. 78.

Syphax was played by Colley Cibber (1671-1757), actor and manager of Drury Lane (1714-1733), dramatist and (in 1730) poet laureate.

Mrs. Oldfield has left a famous name on the stage. There is an allusion to Mrs. Porter in p. 16, above.

p. 41, l. 1, **the mirror of life**. Compare Shakespeare, "Whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature" ("Hamlet," iii. 2).

p. 42, l. 7, **confined himself in time to a single day**. The dramatic unities of time, place, and action, are commonly ascribed to Aristotle. But Aristotle only lays down the need of unity of action ("Poetics," ii. v.): "As to the famous unity of time and place, the first is not mentioned at all, the latter only as a custom. Indeed, they are by no means observed throughout

the ancient dramas" (Gervinus, "Shakespeare Commentaries," Eng. trans., p. 842). See Dryden's "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," pp. 18-20 (Univ. Corr. Coll. edition), and Dr. Johnson's Preface to "Shakespeare"; and compare Professor Moulton's "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," pp. 327 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*

On the unity of place, see Dennis's remarks, quoted by Johnson, p. 47.

l. 21, as **Mr. Bayes** has it. In Mr. Bayes' famous tragedy the following occurs:

"*Usher*. Come, sir; let's state the matter of fact, and lay our heads together.

"*Physician*. Right; lay our heads together. I love to be merry sometimes; but when a knotty point comes, I lay my head close to it, with a snuff-box in my hand; and then I feague it away, i' faith" ("The Rehearsal," ii. 4).

Bayes was the name under which the authors of the "Rehearsal" satirized Dryden. See Johnson's "Life of Dryden" ("Lives of the Poets," Bohn, i. 388 *seq.*). Dryden, it may be mentioned, was very fond of snuff; compare ii. 1 of "Rehearsal."

In most editions of the "Lives" a misprint occurs of *league* for *feague*. The proper word *feague* has never been quite satisfactorily explained. Richardson, followed by Ogilvie and Annandale ("Imperial Dictionary"), and by Hunter ("Encyclopædic Dictionary"), gives the meaning to beat or whip, and they regard the word as derived from (!) or connected with the German *fegen*, to cleanse, scour, etc. But in Stratmann and Bradley's "Middle English Dictionary" we find the word *fegen*, to adapt, fit, join, illustrated by a quotation from the "Ormulum": "mannes bodi fēged is of fowre kinne shafte." To the unscientific philologist at anyrate it is tempting to connect this last with *feague* and with our slang word *fake*—a word of very wide utility, which means to cheat, to do anything, to go on doing anything, etc. Camden Hotten in the "Slang Dictionary" wildly suggests the Latin *facere* as the origin of the word *fake*.

l. 21, of that wise scene. "Cato," i. 3 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 178).

p. 43, l. 1, **politicians**. Johnson's "Dictionary" gives as a secondary meaning of politician, "a man of artifice, one of deep contrivance."

l. 8, **turns the senators out of the hall**. "Cato," ii. 3. As there are no stage directions, it is easy to overlook what Dennis points out, viz., that the senators are dismissed in Cato's last speech, in scene 8, in order that Juba may enter and be informed of what they have decided.

While some change of place was allowed by the "correct"

poets to take place between the acts, say from the inside to the outside of a palace, no change was permitted to take place in the middle of an act. "If the act begins in a garden, a street, a chamber, 'tis ended in the same place; and that you may know it to be the same, the stage is so supplied with persons, that it is never empty all the time: he that enters the second, has business with him who was on before; and before the second quits the stage, a third appears, who has business with him" (Dryden, "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," Univ. Corr. Coll. edit., p. 19).

l. 21, comes back once more. "Cato," ii. 6.

l. 25, the O's, the Mac's, and the Teague's, the Irish Jacobite and Roman Catholic enemies of England. Bailey (1726) explains Teague "as a word of contempt given to the Irish Papists." Cf. reference in "Spectator" (No. 41) "to honest Teague with his holy water."

l. 26, Eustace Commins. This is doubtless the Eustace Comyne who, in November, 1680, presented information to the House of Commons of a "horrid plot of the Papists in Ireland, for to introduce the French into his Majesty's dominions and to suppress the Protestant religion in these three kingdoms." The man seems to have been an imitator and rival of Oates and Turberville, and his story is ridiculous on the face of it. In the British Museum are two pamphlets relating to Comyne, one of them, his original information (1680) and the other, entitled "A Good Pook and fit for every English and Irishman to buy" (1682), a satirical production in which he is made to complain (in what is intended to represent the Celto-Irish brogue) of the superior success of Oates's fabrication. The editor has to thank Mr. G. A. Aitken for kindly directing his attention to these two pamphlets.

l. 29, the carrying off J—G—'s niece or daughter. "The person meant by the initials J. G. is Sir John Gibson, Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth in the year 1710, and afterwards. He was much beloved in the army, and by the common soldiers called *Johnny Gibson*" (Hawkins' note).

p. 44, l. 22, to sudden death. "Cato," iii. 6 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 209).

p. 45, l. 7, Sempronius. Dennis has printed "Marcus" by mistake. This error Johson has silently corrected. He has made many important alterations in the text of Dennis's pamphlet, omitting single words and sometimes whole sentences.

l. 21, the charming Marcia's left behind. "Cato," iii. 7 (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 210).

p. 46, l. 9, non-pareille, unequalled, unrivalled.

l. 16, the Duke of Bavaria, one of the allies of Louis XIV. in

the war of the Spanish succession. Early in the war he was driven from his dominions.

l. 21, **the devil of any guards has Juba**, a vulgar colloquialism for "Juba has no guards at all." The expression "the devil a bit" still survives.

l. 29, **an impertinent disguise**, an inappropriate disguise, one not wanted.

p. 47, l. 8, **unity of place**. See p. 106 above, note to p. 42, 7.

l. 10, **by making the Chorus an essential part of Tragedy**. Aristotle, "Poetics," ii. xxi.

On the chorus of a classical tragedy see A. E. Haigh, "The Attic Theatre," pp. 259 *seq.*; R. G. Moulton, "The Ancient Classical Drama," *passim*.

l. 19, **cleanness**, neatness.

l. 27, **bully Sempronius**. Bully means a swaggering, boisterous, self-assertive fellow. In the early seventeenth century it was not uncomplimentary; Aldis Wright defines it as "a term of familiarity addressed by his companions to a jolly, blustering fellow" ("Midsummer Night's Dream," Clarendon Press edit., p. 105); and it had not in the early eighteenth century acquired a wholly bad meaning, such as it has now.

l. 31, **The deer is lodg'd**. "Cato," iv. 2.

p. 48, l. 19, **the baggage**. A play upon words here.

l. 20, **whimsies, whims**; fanciful ideas without justification in fact.

l. 21, **How will the young Numidian**. "Cato," iv. 2.

p. 49, l. 8, **sign of the Gaper**. "The Dutch, who are more famous for their industry and application than for wit and humour, hang up in several of their streets what they call the sign of the *Gaper*, that is, the head of an idiot dressed in a cap and bells, and gaping in a most immoderate manner: this is a standing jest at Amsterdam" (see the "Spectator," No. 47).

l. 12, **Mr. Bayes' tragedy**. See p. 107.

l. 27, **sure 'twas the clash of swords**. "Cato," iv. 3. (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 213).

p. 50, l. 17, **candle snuffer**. The candle snuffer held an important, though lowly, position in the staff of a theatre.

l. 22, **eve-dropping**. Eve, or eave, is a form wrongly substituted for eves, or eaves, itself a singular, although ending in s. The earliest (A.S.) form is *efese* = the projecting edge of a roof.

An eaves-dropper was one who, standing close to the wall of a house for the purpose of listening, received the droppings of the eaves.

l. 28, **cuckolded**. A cuckold was a man whose wife had been unfaithful. The word is very common in Elizabethan comedies.

l. 25, **fondly**, foolishly.

p. 51, l. 8, **Plato's treatise**. This is the "Phædo," a dialogue which relates the discourse of Socrates and his friends on the immortality of the soul, held on the morning before his death.

l. 6, **long hall**. Dennis said "large hall."

l. 11, **Bernard Lintot** was a bookseller (1675-1736). He and Tonson were the two most important publishers of the time, and their names occur very frequently in the literary history of the Augustan age. Lintot knew no language but English. See Pope's amusing letter to Lord Burlington, Courthorpe and Elwin's "Pope," x. 206. A translation of the "Phædo" by Theobald was published by Lintot in 1718.

l. 21, **lecture**, in its original and etymological sense, a reading.

l. 31, **too much horseplay in his raillery**. See Dryden's Preface to the "Fables." Towards the end he speaks of Jeremy Collier's attack on himself in the "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage," and makes his famous confession in singularly earnest and graceful words: "But," adds the penitent, "he is too much given to horse-play in his raillery; and comes to battle like a dictator from the plough. I will not say, the zeal of God's house has eaten him up; but I am sure it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility" (Globe edition of "Dryden," p. 506).

p. 52, l. 1, **in the conduct**, in the management and arrangement of the story.

he afterwards attacked the sentiments of Cato. "Letters upon the Sentiments of the two first Acts of 'Cato.'" See "Original Letters, Familiar, Moral, and Critical," by Mr. Dennis, ii. 303-7. On the word *sentiments* see p. 105 above.

l. 6, **parallel of the Princes and the Gods**. In his verses "To Sir Godfrey Kneller on his Picture of the King" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 229) he draws a parallel between Kneller, who painted the portraits of Charles II. and the succeeding kings in turn, and came at last to George I.—

"The last, the happiest British king,
Whom thou shalt paint, or I shall sing!"—

and Phidias, who

"Through many a god advanced to Jove,"

that is, produced statues of the inferior deities before that of the supreme god.

The lines, which to us seem dull as well as extravagant, excited at that time great admiration. Bishop Hurd in his note breaks into a rapture: "There never was anything happier than this whole illustration, nor more exquisitely expressed."

Sir Godfrey Kneller (1648-1723) was a pupil of Rembrandt and Ferdinand Bol, and succeeded Sir Peter Lely as Court painter to Charles II. He had a great, and not particularly well-deserved, reputation as a portrait painter.

l. 9, **His translations.** These embrace bks. ii. and iii. of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and part of bk. iv.; an ode of Horace (iii. 8), part of Virgil's fourth Georgic, and a small portion of "Æneid," bk. iii. These are all in the first volume of Addison's "Works," Bohn.

l. 24, **his rhymes are often dissonant.** Addison's rhymes are far from being exactly true; and he is not careful to keep apart rhymes which have the same vowel. But it is not fair to call his rhymes specially dissonant; and one cannot easily find in his poems examples of assonance more imperfect than what is common in his contemporaries and in ours. A more obvious fault is the poverty of his rhymes. The same inaccuracy and sterility in rhyming has been charged against Pope and against Tennyson,¹ two eminently polished and correct writers. Probably all our poets are open to it. The blame must be laid on the intractable medium in which they work; few languages are so deficient in rhymes as English.

l. 22, **correctness.** See Introduction, p. xvi.

l. 25, **broken lines.** On "hemistichs or half-verses breaking off in the middle of a line," see Johnson's "Discourse on Epic Poetry" (Morley's edit. p. 178). There are only two such lines in his translation of the fourth Georgic, both of two feet (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 11, 13).

l. 26, **triplets and Alexandrines,** groups of three lines rhyming together, and lines of six feet. On the use of these see Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" (Dryden), i. 478 *seq.*

l. 33, **condemned as tentative or experimental.** What Johnson called scientific criticism was just what is now usually called unscientific criticism—the application of rules and formulæ. With us the experimental is the scientific. Addison lay between the two schools, and Professor Moulton claims him as a forerunner of the new inductive criticism ("Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," third edition, p. 20).

p. 53, l. 24, **his Prefaces.** Dryden's Prefaces occupy a very important place in the history of literature. Many of his poems and published plays were preceded by a dissertation on one or more points of criticism. Such are the "Preface of Heroic Plays," prefixed to the "Conquest of Granada," 1670; the "Dis-

¹ See Jacobs "Tennyson and 'In Memoriam,'" p. 41. When Mr. Jacobs compares Tennyson unfavourably in this respect with Butler and Browning, I can only express my astonishment.

course on Satire," prefixed to his translation of Juvenal, 1692; and the "Discourse on Epic Poetry," prefixed to his translation of the "Æneid," 1697. Although inferior to his "Essay on Dramatic Poesy," 1667, each of these is an able piece of work; they were, however, as Johnson says, too scholastic for the general reader, who, in the eighteenth century at any rate, resented technical language as "jargon."

p. 54, l. 8, made Milton an universal favourite. This is too strongly put. Milton—at any rate Milton's "Paradise Lost"—has never been a universal favourite; it is probably more often talked about than read, and more often read than enjoyed. And long before Addison's famous papers in the "Spectator" (Nos. 267, 278, 279, 285, 291, 297, 303, 309, 315, 321, 327, 333, 339, 345, 351, 357, 363, 369), Milton had already a large circle of readers. Editions of the "Paradise Lost" had been issued in 1667, 1674, 1678, 1688 (this is a fine folio, with portrait and other plates, published by subscription, under the patronage of Lord Somers and others), 1692, 1695 (two editions, one with elaborate notes), 1705, and 1711; and there had been numerous editions of his smaller poems, and three or four collections of his poetical works. Dryden's famous lines beneath the portrait in Tonson's folio (1688), if somewhat uncritical and exaggerated, at any rate testify, not only to the hearty admiration of the writer, but also to the general verdict of the reading public:

"Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
The next in majesty, in both the last;
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third she joined the other two."

l. 7, the beauties of Chevy Chase. This is probably ironical. Johnson's critical sympathies were closed against the simplicity of the old ballads. But that they rang in his head we have evidence; Boswell overheard him muttering a line of "Johnny Armstrong's Last Good Night" at Holyrood (Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, v. 28).

Addison's papers in the "Spectator," Nos. 70 and 74, are devoted to "Chevy Chase," and No. 85 to the "Children in the Wood," while there are many allusions in other papers.

l. 8, Wagstaff. William Wagstaffe, M.D. (1685-1725), wrote a "Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb," in burlesque of Addison's papers on "Chevy Chase." It is included in his "Miscellaneous Works," 1726. On the authorship of some of the pieces ascribed to Wagstaffe, compare Craik's "Swift," p. 295; Aitken's "Steele," i. 418-5.

l. 10, **Dennis**. See p. 76.

l. 20, **imbecility, feebleness**.

l. 25, **remarks on Ovid**. Notes added to the translation of the two books of "Metamorphoses" (Addison's "Works," Bohn, i. 180 *seq.*).

l. 27, **Essays on Wit**. "Spectator," Nos. 85, 47, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65.

l. 28, and on the **Pleasures of Imagination**. "Spectator," Nos. 411 to 421.

p. 55, l. 2, **outsteps the modesty of nature**. This is a misquotation of "Hamlet," iii. 2: "With this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature." Of course, modesty = moderation, temperance.

l. 10, **enthusiastic**. This word has, when applied to religion, always a bad sense in the eighteenth-century writers. The complimentary suggestion which now belongs to it is indicative of a great change in the moral attitude of society. The dominance of "bright, clear common sense," which characterized the age of Addison and of Johnson, even in ethics and religion, has given place to a more emotional phase of mind. Instead of a cold and unimpassioned type of religion, which made piety largely a question of profit and loss, we have everywhere earnest philanthropy, with a revival of Catholicism on the one hand and the grotesque earnestness of the Salvation Army on the other.

p. 56, l. 1, **Anglicism**, its English character. Boswell has an elaborate comparison of Dr. Johnson's style with that of Addison. Dr. Burney tells us that when Dr. Johnson showed him the proof-sheet of this part of the life of Addison, he remarked on the difference between the two styles. Johnson replied, "Sir, Addison had his style and I have mine." Burney continues: "When I ventured to ask him whether the difference did not consist in this, that Addison's style was full of idioms, colloquial phrases, and proverbs; and his own more strictly grammatical, and free from such phraseology and modes of speech as can never be literally translated or understood by foreigners, he allowed the discrimination to be just. Let anyone who doubts it, try to translate one of Addison's Spectators into Latin, French, or Italian, and though so easy, familiar, and elegant to an Englishman, as to give the intellect no trouble, yet he would find the transfusion into another language extremely difficult, if not impossible. But a Rambler, Adventurer, or Idler of Johnson would fall into any classical or European language as easily as if it had been originally conceived in it" (see Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, i. 170-1, note).

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